FBIS-SOV-84-044
Monday
5 March 1984
Vol III No 044

Daily Report

SOVIET UNION

NOTICE

The Soviet Union DAILY REPORT dated 5 March 1984, Vol III No 044, was published with an incorrect arrangement of the paging sequence. The entire Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for 5 March is herewith republished with proper pagination.

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CHERNENKO SPEECH 'FULL OF PRACTICAL IDEAS'

LD042121 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Mar 84

["News Commentary" by political observer Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] The portions of Comrade Chernenko's speech that concern the international situation have been received as a very responsible and serious call for a constructive dialogue. This call by the Soviet leader is full of absolutely specific, practical ideas, the realization of which could lead to a radical reversal in the development of international relations and a certain change for the better in the development of Soviet-American links.

Comrade Chernenko's speech does not omit the painful and complex issues of contemporary international politics. In this speech the world is presented as it is: a complicated, dangerous, and troubled world. At the same time, of course, this speech also contains a certain optimism and determination to strive for a change for the better.

Those conditions through which the Soviet Union is trying to resolve these tasks are far from one-sided. These are conditions that envisage provisions for equal security not just for the Soviet Union, but also for our Western partners and the United States. This concerns the Soviet approach to the resolutions of problems connected with the limitation and curtailment of the arms race.

We are ready to do business [imet delo] with the United States on an equal basis, strictly observing the principles of equality and equal security of the parties. Moreover, the Soviet Union considers it necessary to look for possibilities of making progress in most diverse directions.

Comrade Chernenko's speech specifically notes the Soviet Union's readiness to make a comprehensive decision banning chemical weapons and the production of chemical weapons -- liquidating of these weapons -- and a number of other constructive ideas on many aspects of contemporary international politics. Of course, the idea that a kind of behavior code of nuclear powers, which would certainly be open to all other states, should be concluded seems most attractive.

One would like to believe that those positive reactions to Comrade Chernenko's speech now coming in from all ends of the earth will lead not just to good words, but also to good deeds. The Soviet Union is ready for constructive, serious, and responsible deeds.

KORNILOV REITERATES CHERNENKO REMARKS ON ARMS

LD030737 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

A strong appeal for peace, reason and the ensuring of dependable security for the peoples has again resounded from Moscow. The speech delivered by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the electorate is in the focus of attention of the world public and press. Commenting on that speech extensively, politicians and public figures and the press in different countries note that the Soviet Union has resolutely reiterated its unflagging will for peace, for detente, and that Moscow is displaying the principled character and continuity of its foreign policy and pointing out a realistic and concrete way to removing the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

This is really so. The political axiom of our time, is that the curbing of the nuclear arms race unleashed by imperialism is of key importance to peace and the security of the peoples. It is on accomplishing that focal task that the USSR is concentrating its efforts in the first place. The ending of intensive material war preparations is the main goal of the Soviet Union's major constructive foreign-policy initiatives. The USSR has always been against rivalry in the build-up of nuclear arsenals. Our country was and remains a proponent of the prohibition and elimination of all types of nuclear weapons.

The policy of the nuclear powers is particularly important today. The vital interests of mankind as a whole and the responsibility of statesmen to the present and succeeding generations demand that relations between those powers be governed by certain norms.

What is Moscow's view of these norms, these political principles? The point here is, first and foremost, that states should view the prevention of nuclear war as the paramount goal of their foreign policies and avert situations fraught with nuclear conflict and that they should renounce the propaganda of nuclear war in any form, global or limited. It is, furthermore, that the nuclear powers, following the Soviet Union's example, should undertake the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, not to use under any circumstances nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries which have no such weapons in their territories, and prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form. Lastly, it is that progress should be made step by step on the basis of the principle of equal security in reducing nuclear armaments to the point of the complete elimination of their every type.

The Soviet Union, as Konstantin Chernenko stressed specifically in his speech, has already made these principles the foundation of its policy. Our country is prepared to reach agreement at any moment with the other nuclear powers on joint recognition of the norms of this kind and on making them mandatory. This, undoubtedly, would meet the basic interests not only of the participating countries but of the peoples of the world at large.

The U.S. Administration has lately begun to make peaceably sounding statements. However, the policy of one state or government or another today is judged by the peoples not on the strength of statements and declarations but on the strength of real actions. Washington's actions and its assurances of its "good intentions," however, are no evidence of its real desire to look for mutually acceptable practical solutions to concrete questions for the good of both countries, for the good of peace. Why would not the USA, for instance, ratify the treaties signed with the USSR almost 10 years ago on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes? Why would not Washington accept the proposal on the mutual freeze of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arms? Why does the U.S. stubbornly refuse to assume the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons but continues its policy of blatant militarism, claims to world dominance and violations of the rights and freedom of the peoples?

Discussing and commenting upon Konstantin Chernenko's speech, the world press points out, and with good reason, that the policy of the Soviet Union is a policy of peace and that Moscow is prepared to use every realistic possibility to conduct talks on the limitation of the arms race on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. Now it is up to Washington to act.

CHERVOV ON U.S. ARMS POLICY, 'VIOLATIONS'

AU021259 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Mar 84 p 7

[Interview given by USSR Colonel General Nikolay Chervov to APN military commentator V. Morozov: "The United States Violates International Obligations; The Adventurism of the White House" -- date, place not given]

[Text] Military-political expert Colonel General Nikolay Chervov answered questions posed by APN military commentator V. Morozov.

[Morozov] The Soviet memorandum published in the press on 30 January this year exposes the negative approach of the U.S. Administration to the problems of limiting the arms buildup. It also enumerates concrete instances of the violation and nonobservance of these obligations. What bilateral and international treaties does this dangerous course of Washington torpedo?

[Chervov] Judge for yourself. In the 3 years of its tenure, the Reagan administration has not concluded a single agreement with the Soviet Union on the limitation of armaments. It has only been dismantling what was accomplished earlier. It has rejected SALT II, and also failed to ratify the agreement on underground test of nuclear weapons of 1974 and the agreement on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes of 1976.

Let us, for example, take a look at SALT II. The White House has let it get into an impasse only because it secured an approximate parity between the USSR and the United States in strategic weapons. That, however, did not suit the Reagan administration, because after the ratification of this agreement it would have been much more difficult to raise hue and cry throughout the world about "Soviet military superiority" which, as we well know, in reality does not exist. That agreement would limit the possibilities of unleashing an arms race and increasing a military hysteria.

For more than a year the Reagan administration was drawing out the talks about European and strategic nuclear weapons. When it was forced -- by public pressure -- to accede to these talks, it did all it would to make use of them as a mantle for its extensive military preparations. The White House had led these talks into an impasse and thwarted them.

[Morozov] Does the United States violate the international obligations it has accepted?

[Chervov] The United States does not fulfill its obligations in the sphere of limiting the arms buildup in at least 11 specific ways.

At variance with SALT II, the United States unilaterally and massively deploys long-range cruise missiles on land and in the sea. Thus it violates the obligation it accepted, that it will hold talks with the Soviet Union on limiting such weapons. It also violates the obligation to circumvent in no way SALT II. By deploying Pershing II's and cruise missiles in Western Europe, the United States upsets the existing equilibrium of strategic forces, because these missiles -- as they affect the Soviet Union -- are strategic weapons, and an important addition to its strategic arsenal located on the American Continent.

Washington's activity also is at variance with other agreements (the ban on the production of mobile radar stations, systems for space stations, and so forth). President Reagan's decision to establish an extensive system of antimissile defense -- when realized -- will lead to the violation of the agreement on antimissile defense, and would make the possibility of achieving in the future an effective agreement in the sphere of strategic weapons doubtful.

The American press (THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE WASHINGTON POST) occasionally writes about secret underground tests of small nuclear charges (1-10 kilotons), carried out at testing grounds in Nevada. Their purpose is to test small nuclear explosives for deployment in lasers with nuclear charges, which they want to use as an antimissile weapon in space, and also for use in multiple warheads. These explosions are not being reported officially.

Moreover, on 15 February 1984, after another explosion, a landslide 400 meters deep occurred in Nevada, causing a huge crater into which a number of employees of the testing ground fell. Several were taken to a hospital in a critical state. During the explosion, American seismologists registered tremors comparable to an earthquake of a force of 4.5 degrees of the Richter scale. The world press recalls that also before this, during similar explosions, cracks had occurred in Nevada, through which radioactive clouds seeped to the surface.

Today it is generally known that during its aggression in Indochina the United States was using poisonous substances very extensively. The consequences affected more than 2 million Vietnamese, as well as more than 60,000 American troops, and tens of thousands Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders, and members of other nationalities. These substances destroyed 150,000 hectares of tropical forests, 44 percent of agricultural land, and 70 percent of coconut palm plantations.

[Morozov] The Reagan administration strives to assert that -- allegedly -- as the result of its "peacemaking" activity, world security is strengthening. What can be said about this assertion?

[Chernov] This assertion does not correspond to reality. It is only an attempt to distract the attention of the world public from a course dangerous to peace. Has, by any chance, the White House canceled its Directive No 59 on the preparation of a "limited" nuclear war? Has the Pentagon abandoned the Directive in the Sphere of Defense for 1984-85, which states that "the United States must gain superiority in a nuclear war"? Has the United States rejected R. Reagan's declaration saying that "the United States can use tactical nuclear weapons in Europe"?

The Soviet Union sees well the threat to mankind being created today by the foolhardy, adventurist activity of the forces of imperialism, and draws the attention of all nations on the earth to this danger. At a special session of the CPSU Central Committee, Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, declared that we do not need military superiority in the military sphere. We do not want to dictate our will to others. But we also will not permit the military equilibrium to become upset. This is a very important prerequisite for maintaining peace.

KHARKOV VIEWS NATO ARMS BUILDUP, ARMS TALKS

LD022307 Moscow TASS in English 2237 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- TASS news analyst Vasiliy Kharkov writes:

In rejecting the constructive Soviet proposals on curbing the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, the USA and its NATO allies are trying hard to change the existing military-strategic parity in their favor. This is confirmed by the new militarist calls coming from the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO Forces in Europe General Bernard Rogers. In an interview published by the West German newspaper SAARBRUKER ZEITING today, the American general insists that, together with nuclear weapons, the NATO countries also continue to build up their conventional armaments.

Repeating the notorious propagandist version of NATO alleging that the deployment of U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles has not brought about any special changes in the international situation, Rogers feigned optimism with respect to a resumption of the Geneva talks, specifying, however, that, in his opinion, these will not occur before the November presidential elections in the USA.

Talking about its "readiness" to resume the talks, Washington is stepping up delivery to Western Europe of new U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles. As was stated on Thursday by the Belgian National Defence Minister Breven, this month a group of U.S. military will arrive in Belgium to make preparations for deploying 48 cruise missiles in the country's territory. The first such missiles, the minister said, will be delivered to the air force base in Florena.

Bridling the nuclear arms race is crucial to the cause of peace and international security. The line of the USSR on this key issue, as has once again been stressed in the pre-election statement by Soviet leaders, remains unchanged. The Soviet Union does not need a military superiority. It does not intend to strengthen its own security at the expense of others, but rather wishes equal security for all. The USSR is resolutely opposed to the competition in building up both nuclear and conventional arsenals.

Having embarked on deploying Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe, Washington and NATO have increased the war menace both on the European Continent and elsewhere. The fact is that the new U.S. nuclear missiles can also hit the Middle East, North Africa and the Mediterranean. This deployment has brought about a significant increase in the level of military confrontation, and a sharp aggravation of the political climate. As a result of these U.S. actions, the Geneva talks were torpedoed. And no matter how hard the U.S. and NATO officials try to gloss over these facts, resistance to Washington's imperial ambitions is gathering momentum, manifested, among other things, in the powerful sweep of the anti-missile movement in many countries and continents.

The principle of equality and equal security must serve as the basis in tackling the problem of limiting and reducing nuclear arms in Europe. The Soviet Union advocates attainment of agreement precisely on the basis of this principle. Washington, for its part, actually rejects the principle, making its participation in the talks on this subject a propaganda exercise.

U.S. USING TALKS ISSUE AS 'PROPAGANDA TOOL'

LD030839 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 3 Mar 84

["Clear and Unambiguous Soviet Position" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS -- TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

While publicly claiming its readiness to look for sensible solutions to questions of nuclear armaments in Europe, the U.S. Administration is carrying on military build-up measures which not only are at odds with the goal of the talks but make the possibility of an agreement on this matter more remote.

The Pentagon stresses that the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe will proceed in accordance with NATO's schedule. Washington continues to seek unilateral superiority in the flight time of its first strike land-based missiles to major targets in socialist countries.

U.S. officials say that they are not going to make any new proposals on nuclear disarmament in Europe except the infamous "zero option" and "intermediate solution" calling for the removal of Soviet medium-range missiles from all Soviet territory without adequate reductions in NATO's nuclear arms arsenals.

Against this background the much publicized statements of the U.S. Administration on its readiness to return at any moment to the negotiating table to discuss the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe sound at least unconvincing.

The reasons of the collapse of the Geneva talks, conditions for their resumption and ways to achieve a mutually acceptable accord have been stated with utmost clarity by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at his meeting with the voters of the Kuybyshev Electoral District of Moscow. "The Americans created obstacles to the talks both on 'European' and on strategic nuclear weapons by deploying their missiles in Europe. It is the removal of these obstacles (which would also remove the need for our measures taken in response) that offers the way to working out a mutually acceptable accord," the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stated.

There is no hedging or ambiguity in the Soviet stand.

The Soviet side will not participate in the talks which would provide a cover for the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe. The talks can be meaningful only if they pursue the tasks defined in their mandate, that is, the tasks of reducing nuclear armaments.

The talks can be effective only if the United States returns to the initial situation in Europe, that is, withdraws its medium-range missles from the continent and pledges not to deploy them in Europe in future.

Regrettably, the United States has so far been using the question of the resumption of the Geneva talks as a propaganda tool intended to distract world public attention from the U.S. course of unleashing the cold war.

The Soviet Union has no intention to participate in this game.

'DRUZHBA-84' EXERCISES COMPLETED IN POLAND

LD022058 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] The Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic have completed their "Friendship-84" ["Druzhba-84"] military exercise held on Polish territory. The training missions are said to have been fulfilled. The troops and staffs involved in the exercise are returning to their quarters.

CEMA DELEGATION ENDS VISIT TO NICARAGUA

PM011343 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Mar 84 p 3

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Managua, 29 Feb -- A group of CEMA specialists led by Angel Chaushev, CEMA deputy secretary, has concluded its visit to Nicaragua.

The delegation was received by D. Ortega, member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front national leadership and coordinator of the Junta of the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction.

During their visit, the CEMA specialists visited a number of agro-industrial complex facilities built in the Republic. Working sessions in which the leaders of a number of ministries and departments participated elaborated recommendations aimed at further developing cooperation between CEMA and Nicaragua.

WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE'

LD04194] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 4 Mar 84

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign affairs commentator; Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, NOVOYE VREMYA editorial board member; and Vadim Nikolayevich Nekrasov, KOMMUNIST international observer]

USSR Elections, Achievements

[Text] [Andrianov] Today is a particularly festive day in our country: Elections to the USSR Supreme Soivet are taking place. With a feeling of great spiritual elation, Soviet people are exercising a very important constitutional right and fulfilling a lofty civic duty in electing deputies to the supreme organ of state power. The citizens of our country are voting for candidates from the bloc of Communists and non-party members, thereby manifesting high awareness and demonstrating their determination to augment the strength and glory of the homeland of the Great October Revolution. This is yet another clear manifestation of the indestructible unity of the party and the people, the monolithic cohesion of the socialist society. This unity, this cohesion, represents an inexhaustible source of might and progress for the land of the soviets.

Each year the Soviet economy attains a new, higher level. During the period that has elapsed since the previous elections to the Supreme Soviet, the country's production forces have grown stronger and been considerably modernized. Over 1,000 industrial enterprises equiped with up-to-date equipment have gone into operation. Mainline gas pipelines approximately 40,000 km in length have been constructed. By the way, such a scale and pace of work have hitherto been unknown in world practice. The power-labor ratio in agriculture has gone up by 30 percent. Supplies of mineral fertilizers to kolkhozes and sovkhozes have risen by nearly 1/3. Our nation's material and spiritual standard of living is rising perceptibly. During the period that has elapsed 4/5 of the national income was directed towards the people's well-being. Over 2 million flats were built last year alone. This is more than in any one of the last 20 years. Soviet people associate all these and many other achievements with the activity of the Leninist party, the force that leads and directs society. There is nothing more important or dear to the party than the nation's interests, the well-being and happiness of the Soviet man. This is why the CPSU's policy invariably meets with the masses' full approval and broad all-round support.

In his speech at his meeting with the electorate on 2 March Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed that one of the most important and most urgent instructions from the Soviet electorate was, is, and will be the instruction to preserve peace like the apple of one's eye and to ensure our homeland's security. The party and the Soviet state, Comrade Chernenko said, have unswervingly followed this instruction. Together with you, esteemed comrades, we are all witnesses of the immense -- indeed, titanic - work that is carried out for the sake of such lofty humanitarian, noble aims. Our party and the Soviet state are doing their utmost to ensure peaceful conditions for the Soviet people's life and work, and to preserve and strengthen universal peace and the security of nations. This assumes exceptional significance now, when the situation in the international arena has become seriously complicated through the fault of ultrareactionary imperialist forces. Our party states openly that even in the present acute situation it will not abandon the program of peace its congresses adopted. Manifesting the Soviet people's profound aspirations, the CPSU and our government are doing and will do their utmost to avert the threat of war, to preserve peace for the present and future generations.

Thus, in casting their votes for the candiates of the bloc of communists and non-party members today. Soviet people are voting for the Leninist foreign policy. This policy invariably pursues lofty aims, the aims of ensuring lasting peace and universal security, expanding and deepening cooperation between states, defending the rights of nations to their independence and social progress.

[Nekrasov] The course our country pursues in international affairs knows no circumstantial fluctuations. They are simply alien to it. The profoundly peace-loving character of the Soviet Union's foreign policy has been consolidated by the decisions of our party's congresses and the USSR Constitution and deepening the unity of fraternal countries to the utmost, based on the principles of socialist internationalism and the all-round development and strengthening of their cooperation, has been and remains the central, priority direction of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

West's 'Economic Blackmail'

[Andrianov] This is of particularly great importance in the present international situation, which is characterized by an unprecedented exacerbation of the struggle between two world social systems. Opponents of socialism are now stepping up their attacks. One can say that blind anti-communism engendered by the bourgeoisie's class hatred toward socialism takes the upper hand over the healthy political thinking of certain circles in the West. One cannot explain in any other way why the U.S. President is openly declaring that the West is in a state of war with the socialist world and why the organizers of the crusade are manipulating false ideas about the aggressiveness of socialism. They are striving to attain a whole number of strategic aims. They would like, in particular, to bleed white the economy of socialist countries by drawing them into the arms race, and to achieve a real military superiority with all the consequences this entails. Our enemies have clearly failed to benefit from the lessons of history. And yet these lessons are very instructive -- for instance, with regard to the fact that there is absolutely no future in economic blackmail against the new socialist society. In the final analysis it turns out to be a boomerang against those who resort to it. The ruling circles of the United States and some other imperialist states are now throwing down not only a military but also a technological challenge to world socialism. I have in mind the restriction that they have imposed on so-called strategic goods for the countries of our socialist community. Such technological chauvinism, as one can put it, is a component part of the notorious crusade against world socialist. Washington and company overtly entertain illusions, hoping -- without any grounds, of course -- that without help from the West the countries of our community will be unable to equip on a mass scale their industrial production with up-to-date computer technology.

How can one fail to recall the affair of the White House's so-called sanctions against the Soviet Union, when the Washington adminstration conceived the idea of disrupting supplies of Western equipment for the gas pipeline being constructed in our country? As you know, the venture ended in ignominious failure. The engineering project -- unique in the world -- was completed in a third of the standard time for such work. The fraternal socialist countries made what contribution they could to the construction work. It was in this way that the collective of builders of the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline provided an instructive example of how we will respond to any imperialist attempt at economic blackmail.

[Volskiy] In a word, Boris Vasilyevich, those who today make allegations that the Soviet Union and its friends are incapable of developing their economy without Western machines and equipment and without access to Western technology are, as they say, indulging in wishful thinking. What is it that they want? Ultimately, just one thing: the collapse of the economic system of world socialism.

[Andrianov] It is in fact, as the saying goes, a case of the hungry chicken always dreaming of corn but never getting its fill. And if you take a sober look at things and make a sensible assessment of the facts, the experience gathered by the fraternal socialist countries confirms that the solution of the most complex problems is within their power. Moreover, they do this without the social cost resorted to in the capitalist states. Of course, we have our problems too, but surely it is obvious that the factors complicating the economic development of the countries of socialism have nothing in common with the hereditary ailments of the market economy with its crisis-ridden instability, growing unemployment and similar acutely negative phenomena. Our difficulties are quite surmountable since they are problems to do with our growth and our dynamic advancement toward fresh heights of economic development.

The socialist community has a powerful material and technical base. It is a very large economic complex. The combined population of the fraternal countries is about 450 million, which is roughly one-tenth of the population of our planet. However, our states account for one-third of world industrial production and scientific-technical potential, as well as one-quarter of the world's national income and one-fifth of the world's entire agricultural output. The industrial potential of the countries of the socialist community is more than double the potential of the European Ten, the Common Market. We are witnessing a steady strengthening of the positions of world socialism and its growing influence on the course of history. It would be difficult to name an important problem for the strengthening of peace on which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have not, in recent years, made specific and realistic proposals. The initiatives of our countries are finding increasingly broad support from other states. This was again confirmed quite convincingly by the latest session of the UN General Assembly.

Speaking at a meeting with voters on 2 March, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko noted that imperialist politicians are doing their utmost to limit the international influence of the countries of socialism. They are attempting to weaken their cohesion and to shake loose the foundations of the socialist system where it seems to them that they can reckon on success. In these circumstances, stressed the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, it is particularly important to preserve and strengthen the solidarity of the fraternal socialist countries. The leaders of the participant states of the Warsaw Pact unanimously voiced their conviction in this once again during their recent meeting in Moscow.

Chernenko on Foreign Policy

[Nekrasov] Throughout the world, attention has been drawn to the optimistic tone that permeates the foreign policy sections of Comrade Chernenko's speech. Indeed, the situation in the world, as we know, is complex and dangerous. It is exacerbated by the actions of aggressive ultra-imperialistic circles. And yet, the Soviet Union believes, it also has its positive points. The roots of detente run deep, as Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko said. Using a number of examples, he showed that it was possible to hope that at the end of the day it would prove possible once again to direct the course of events toward peace, limiting the arms race and the development of international cooperation. In this connection, special attention is of course drawn to the part of the speech that contains the norms for relations between the nuclear powers as proposed by the Soviet Union. They represent certain rules, so to speak, the observance of which on the part of the powers that have the most powerful, the most destructive weapons of the present day could help to ensure peace for many years. It is quite obvious that these norms relate, in the first place, to the biggest and most powerful nuclear powers: the Soviet Union and the United States. It is in this connection that such great significance is attached to Comrade Chernenko's words concerning statements by the highest-ranking American officials.

Assurances of the good intentions of the present American Administration, as Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko said, can only be taken seriously if they are underpinned by real actions. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, our position, as you will recall, was expressed at the February Plenum of the Central Committee, when it was stated that we are in favor of the peaceful solution to all contentious international problems by means of serious, equitable and constructive talks, and it was expressed once again on 2 March in Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's speech to the voters. Speaking overall about world reaction both to the February plenum and the speech to voters by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, what is the main thing that is being noted in the world? I would say the main thing is the idea that the Soviet Union, as a great power, is fully cognizant of its responsibility to the peoples for the preservation and consolidation of peace, as well as the readiness expressed by the Soviet Union to cooperate with all states, that is, the United States included, in order to strengthen the foundations of peace.

[Andrianov] Vadim Nikolayevich, it seems to me that when we speak of reaction in the West to the speech by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, we should also perhaps add the following thought, which can be traced in much of the reaction. These speeches, observers note, once again confirm something that the Soviet Union has said repeatedly and that it has confirmed recently in practical terms: Attempts to foist unacceptable solutions on the Soviet side using so-called power diplomacy have absolutely no chance of success.

[Nekrasov] In practical terms the question to be asked now about Soviet-U.S. relations is this: Has Washington learned a real lesson from the bankruptcy of the U.S. line of using force to pressurize the Soviet Union? Recent days have not brought any moves towards realism in Washington's policy. Admittedly, the U.S. press continues to discuss the significance of the alleged softening of the tone of U.S. propaganda. However, perceptive and attentive U.S. observers agree with the view which was expressed by Steven Weisman, THE NEW YORK TIMES observer. Here is what he wrote: Critics of the administration regard the signs of a change in Reagan's position as nothing more than the usual pre-election posturing. I would say this about the kindling of a dangerous hotbed of conflict in the Near East. But Dmitriy Antonovich is undoubtedly better qualified to talk about this.

[Volskiy] Vadim Nikolayevich, the events now taking place in the Near East and the things you said about other regions bear out exactly what Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko said in his election speech. He said that intensified militarization and exacerbation of the international situation would not give the United States military superiority and political successes and that would only lead to increased criticism throughout the world of the bellicose course. Of course, this applies not only to the global situation but also to the situation in individual zones of conflict. As you rightly noted, this applies above all to the Near East. But it also applies to the Middle East. One can say that it is now obvious that this U.S. imperial policy has suffered a major defeat in Lebanon.

U.S. 'Defeat' in Lebanan

Why is this a defeat? It is a defeat first because it has not been possible to implement the inequitable, one-sided agreement that Israel and the United States foisted on Lebanon some months ago. It is now reported that even before the visit he just paid to Damascus, the Syrian capital, President al-Jumayyil of Lebanon declared that the agreement with Israel would be abrogated. Second, the Pentagon has not been able to hold on to its bridgehead on Lebanon's Mediterranean coast. As you know, the U.S. Marines have been redeployed from there to ships standing offshore.

Third, although the French contingent is staying in Lebanon for the moment, the evacuation of troops other NATO countries, Britain and Italy, contributed to the Multinational Forces shows that the Americans are not succeeding in firmly involving the NATO bloc in their Near East adventure -- in getting it to leapfrog the Mediterranean and establish itself firmly on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, thereby extending NATO's operations zone to the Near East region.

Finally, there is a fourth circumstance which shows that the Americans have indeed suffered a defeat in the Lebanon, or at any rate are suffering a defeat. The United States has not been able to influence the political correlation of forces inside this country. The conservative, right-wing Christian forces that Washington principally relied on have turned out to be militarily and politically weaker than the national patriotic forces, particularly the many Muslim Druze and Shi'ite organizations, which are on the whole further to the left and advocate socioeconomic reforms in the country. These forces have turned out to be more powerful and to have more solid support from the masses and greater prospects for carrying out their policy than their opponents from the conservative Lebanese camp, even though those opponents have been wholeheartedly supported by Washington and by the guns of the battleship New Jersey.

Washington is now approaching a choice: Either it will have to abandon its unreserved support for Israel and its attempts to establish its domination over the Near East -- and, indeed, over the Middle East -- by force in favor of seeking mutually acceptable accords, or it will have to go on raising the stakes, so to speak, and gambling everything, thereby confronting the world with increasingly serious crises in the region of the Near and Middle East. Militaristic circles in the United States are encouraging just such a dangerous policy. The evidence of this includes Weinberger's current trip to Lebanon and the things we are now seeing in the Persian Gulf zone.

[Nekrasov] That is understandable: Washington wants to get its hands on oil resources, of which there is an abundance in the Persian Gulf region, as we know.

[Volskiy] That's just it: Washington wants to get its hands on these resources -- to control them, and not just consume the oil, as is claimed in the West. After all, in recent years the United States has depended on the Persian Gulf for a mere 15 percent of its oil supplies, whereas Western Europe and Japan rely on this zone for no less than 70 percent of their supplies. So the U.S. Administration regards the establishment of military control over the Persian Gulf region as a way to achieve two objectives. On the one hand, they want to grab their allies in Europe and the Far East by the throat, so to speak. As the press says, Washington would then be in a position to turn the allies' oil tap on and off. That is one side of the matter. The other, which is probably still more important, is the aim of creating an additional bridgehead not far from the southern borders of the Soviet Union. All this is what lies behind the present concentration of U.S. naval forces in the Indian Ocean, in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf.

[Andrianov] The well-known Soviet peace initiatives on the normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf zone and on a just settlement of the Near East conflict assume special significance in these circumstances, Dmitriy Antonovich.

[Volskiy] These initiatives are well known. Our approach to a settlement in the Near East is also well known. It envisages the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all territories and the satisfaction of the Palestinians' rights and the right of all the states in this region to independent existence.

But the Soviet Union is also proposing a method for a settlement in the Near East, the convening of a conference in which all interested parties would take part, including -- without fail -- the PLO. This conference could also be attended by other states -- the leading nonaligned countries, for example, and not just them.

The convening of such a conference represents a long-term, principled Soviet policy line which is also to be found in the documents of the 26th Party Congress. Naturally, in view of the aggressive intentions of the United States and Israel, it is a very very difficult task even to prepare such a conference. And yet, this idea is pushing its way through.

Opposition to Deployment

[Andrianov] It is time now, I think, to turn to the question that for a long time has rightly been seen all over the world as particularly significant in the present complicated international atmosphere. I have in mind the question of the U.S. medium range nuclear missiles sited in Europe.

[Nekrasov] Although the first batch of these first-strike missiles are now deployed in combat positions, the storm of passions aroused by the actions taken by the American military and their NATO allies continues to rage across the whole of Western Europe. It may be confidently said that the issue of the deployment of Pershings and cruise missiles is now and will continue to be in the future the main issue in international relations on our continent. This is so, first, because so far only the first batch has been deployed. The Americans still have to supply, and their West European clients to accommodate, a considerably greater number of these same missiles. Therefore the struggle of those who are opposed to the U.S. and NATO plans will continue, and, from all accounts, continue on a growing scale. The most important thing that I think could and must be noted today is the expansion and intensification of the acute and at times bitter discussion in this connection going on in the West. Now under discussion are not only the immediate dangerous consequences of the actions already taken. The discussion has moved further ahead. Questions are being posed concerning the causes, that is, what made it possible for the U.S. military to implement their planned action which holds lethal danger for the very existence of peoples? The conclusion to which many participatns in the discussion arrive is this: The root cause lies in the policy of the so-called Western solidarity which is embodied in the activities of NATO.

[Andrianov] In this connection I would like to quote an article in THE NEW YORK TIMES which I think deserves attention. It commented on the current atmosphere in Western Europe as follows: The United States' European allies, it says, have started making efforts toward a greater independence of the European countries on issues of military policy. Vadim Nikolayevich, do you agree with this assessment?

[Nekrasov] There is much talk on this subject. It is even reported that the West European NATO countries should consider, they say reimposing control on their own military policy. Well, what can one say about such belated good wishes? Who if not the governments of Great Britain, the FRG and Italy themselves opened the doors of their countries to the deployment of the American monsters, monsters of which they themselves are now increasingly scared, as we can see?

[Andrianov] However complicated the military-political situation in the world may be, it should not be over-dramatized. However, we Soviet people know best what incalculable disaster may follow from the actions of an aggressor. Could we ever forget the harsh years of the Great Patriotic War? Therefore our party and the whole people are tirelessly taking care to strengthen the defense capability of the country. They are doing everything necessary so that the Soviet Armed Forces will have at their disposal all that is needed to reliably defend the gains of socialism and peace on this earth, to uphold the interests of our great motherland and those of its friends and allies.

In the name of this cause, Soviet people spare no effort, displaying a high spirit of patriotism and awareness of their internationalist duty. This is how it was, this is how it is now and will be in future. This should be firmly fixed in the minds of those who try to misrepresent our love of peace. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Centrol Committee, stated: Let it be known to all that no military adventurist will succeed in catching us unaware. No potential aggressor can hope to avoid a crushing strike in response. At the same time, as Comrade Chernenko noted, the complicated nature of the situation by itself dictates a doubled and trebled increase in the efforts to conduct a policy of peace and international cooperation. Yes, the Soviet Union is not relaxing, and will not relax its efforts to remove the threat of war from mankind, to create a healthier international atmosphere. We are unfailingly loyal to this goal and see it as the main task facing mankind in these complicated times. Our country maintains the struggle to resolve this task, along with peace-loving forces on the planet. After all, the more obvious the danger of imperailist policy and the continual whipping-up of tension, the more threatening it is to human civilization, the more active become the forces for nation's preservation. People want peace and transquillity and not military hysteria. They want to be confident that a catastrophe will never occur. And now we come to the end of our meeting at the round table. Thank you for your attention, esteemed comrade radio-listeners. Goodbye and all the best.

BOVIN, BEGLOV ON USSR RELATIONS WITH U.S., PRC

LD030438 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Mar 84

[From the "People and the World" program; special correspondent Bohumil Horak interview with IZVESTIYA's Aleksandr Bovin and NOVOSTI's Spartak Beglov; described as "journalistic figures known far beyond the borders of the USSR"; in Moscow "several days ago"; Bovin and Beglov speak in Russian with superimposed translation -- recorded]

[Text] [Horak] In connection with last February's plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the speech made by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, there has been a great deal of talk throughout the world about Soviet foreign policy. Despite the fact that Comrade Chernenko expressed himself quite clearly in his speech, I believe it would be a good thing to deal with this question in greater detail. Will you please Comrade Bovin?

[Bovin] This question is not new to us. When Leonid Brezhnev died and was replaced by Yuriy Andropov a great deal was said and written along the same line: What will happen now; will detente be maintained? It is of course rather difficult to convince the Western public that the basic Soviet foreign policy line is not determined by Leonid Brezhnev, Yuriy Andropov or Konstantin Chernenko, but that it is set by the highest bodies of our party and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The principal line of the foreign policy, which we are pursuing now, was formulated at the 26th congress of our party. Both Leonid Brezhnev and Yuriy Andropov were guided by this line as will be Konstantin Chernenko. This is why I shall state with absolute conviction and resoluteness, which my colleague will surely endorse, that the Soviet Union's foreign policy, its principled directions, purpose and content will remain the same as before. It is the orientation toward peaceful coexistence, finally putting an end to the feverish arms race, and toward reducing, at a later stage, the arms level.

[Beglov] I think that one has to stress here that a very characteristic feature of Soviet foreign policy is its stability. This characteristic feature is very important not only to our friends and allies, but also to those whom we regard as our, to put it mildly, opponents in the international arena. These people know that there is one country, whose political course can be predicted and accurately evaluated. They know very well whom and what kind of policy they are facing.

An interesting thought has come to mind, which was expressed by the late Yuriy Andropov when he was elected CPSU Central Committee general secretary. Look, he said, in [word indistinct] conditions Western politicians cast all kinds of aspersions on us; they talk about our policy, using the worst words, depicting various horrors and dangers that this policy is threatening their countries and the rest of the world. But as soon as a change in the leadership occurs in our country, conjectures begin. The same people begin to fear that this policy will change. This confirms, Yuriy Andropov said at that time, that these officials, who are not inclined in our favor, nonetheless value the immutability of Soviet policy as an important mainstay of world stability. Naturally this is very important in today's turbulent world.

[Horak] It is surely worthwhile to note the determining role that relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are playing in present international relations. When U.S. Vice President Bush was in Moscow for Yuriy Andropov's funeral, he met also Comrade Konstantin Chernenko. In this connection conjectures and speculations appeared in the Western press about the future development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Some commentators even wrote that now it was the Soviet Union's turn to provide new impulses or new initiatives for Soviet-American relations.

[Bovin] Well, you know when one talks about the determining role of Soviet-American relations in world politics, I would like to recall that the situation is actually more complicated. The world does not consist of the United States and the Soviet Union alone. For instance, Third World countries are asserting themselves more and more in the world arena. The world does not have merely two poles. There are many of them; and if we are to examine the trend as a whole, we must make note of the fact that Soviet Union's and United States' share in world developments has a tendency to diminish in direct proportion to the ever greater activity of other states.

In one respect our position is unique, and this is from the military-strategic viewpoint. This is because more than 90 percent of the world's nuclear potential is in the hands of the United States and the Soviet Union. From this military-strategic viewpoint the world indeed has two poles; and, therefore, the main political problem of the present period is naturally being tackled within the framework of Soviet-American relations. The two great powers undoubtedly have a unique position here. This is also why the worsening of Soviet-American relations has cast a woeful shadow over world politics. During his entire 3 and 1/2 years in the White House Reagan spoiled practically everything he could. But now something rather peculiar is beginning to happen. Today Reagan is preparing himself for a new election and has realized the necessity of altering his image. No longer does he want to be seen as a war monger. His series of recent speeches is a concrete example of this. When we read them we could form an impression that he is an excellent fellow, that he is for peace, for peaceful coexistence, reduction of tensions, a truly good and kind man and a humanist.

Then where does the problem lie? Vladimir Ilyich Lenin once said that we regard sincerity in politics as the unity between words and actions. The fact is that the words now being delivered by the U.S. President do not correspond to his actions. Let us consider one thing -- the disarmament talks. All the programs, all the proposals made by the Americans have taken into careful consideration United States interests while taking a very dreadful attitude toward the Soviet Union's interests. All fundamental political problems must be resolved through compromise. Naturally, they each have to take into consideration their own interests, this is proper; but they must also be able to respect the interests of their partner in negotiations. They both have common interests, which can serve as a basis for a compromise. The Americans are not willing to do this, and this is why there has been such a paralyzing break in negotiations.

Americans talk as if things were going to change for better, toward dialogue, which is the most fashionable word. In our concept, dialogue is a discussion on an equal basis in which both our and U.S. interests must be asserted and in which the security of both sides must be respected. My own impression, however, is that the Americans are not ready for such a dialogue and that so long as Reagan is in the White House we will not reach an agreement with the Americans on anything solid.

[Horak] I would like to interrupt you Comrade Bovin to ask what will happen if Ronald Reagan is re-elected in the November elections? Comrade Beglov, will you please?

[Beglov] I will start with my own personal impressions, which I gained when Reagan delivered his well-known speech on 16 January this year. At that time I was in Stockholm and sat in a company of journalists who were attending the Stockholm conference as special correspondents. The journalists, who included Western journalists were divided into two groups. One group voiced the view that Reagan's speech was nothing else than the beginning of an election campaign from an international (?forum). Many of them thought that the speech contained certain elements of a new attitude, that the speech bore the mark that the U.S. leaders have realized that they cannot conduct negotiations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries as they have been doing and that they will not derive any advantage for the United States.

The only possible conclusion one can draw from this is that the whole world understands that one of the many 4-year cycles in American politics is drawing to a close, and that soon it will be decided whether the President will be reelected or whether he will be replaced by somebody else. This is why every statement -- whether they wish this in America or not -- every step, every gesture is assessed by all other governments on the basis of this very criterion: Is it based on purely reelection calculations, or does it really contain a willingness to embark on some concrete action, to initiate a change in policy? I would even go so far as to say that one can discern a certain pattern. The less time remaining until the U.S. election, the more every word delivered by anyone, including the President, is determined by purely domestic election maneuvering. This is why I think that to talk about some kind of serious negotiations with the current U.S. leadership before next November, before the elections has hardly any hopeful prospects.

There is one assessment criterion in the political dynamics of any state, and especially of great power such as the United States. It is the ability to take into account the interests of other countries, their security, the principles of equal security. From this viewpoint one of the main failings of the Reagan administration's policy is the fact that for them to acknowledge the interests of the other side is simply not possible. They do not know this area of world politics at all. They are not capable of understanding the interests of the people and of taking them into their consideration. Therefore if we are to talk about the future, then U.S. policy, regardless of who is in power, its ability to conduct negotiations with the Soviet Union, with the socialist community, will be measured by small steps, by how many centimeters or even milimeters they come closer to recognizing the legitimate interests of others.

[Horak] A great deal has been said about the possibility and necessity of a Soviet-American summit meeting. How do you, Comrade Bovin, view the possibilities of such a summit taking place?

[Bovin] The question of such a meeting is somewhat more complicated, for, above all, thorough preparation would have to precede it.

Second, if I may be frank, I would not even want such a meeting to take place, because, after all, in the current situation it would mean throwing a lifeline to Reagan, and I think that there is no need to do that. Let him extricate himself from the difficulties into which he has gotten himself. With regard to concrete proposals, I would like to make the following graphic comparison: When one is running and wants to go back, first of all he must stop. We express this very simple matter by the word freeze. Let us freeze the level of arms at the moment when no one denies that there is a rough balance. Afterward, diplomats can begin their work in peace. This cannot be achieved through the way Reagan conducts himself. He talks on the one hand about reducing the number of one kind of missile, while on the other he installs other missiles. On the one hand he talks about reducing the number of one kind of submarine, while on the other hand manufacturing other ones. We cannot tolerate this.

[Horak] There has appeared a very popular American and Western propaganda thesis, according to which it would be possible to link negotiations on missiles [as received] with those on strategic arms. What is your view on this question Comrade Beglov?

[Beglov] I would like to recall that when talks began about nuclear arms limitation between the Soviet Union and the United States, it was envisaged that at a certain stage the talks would not be restricted merely to the strategic arsenal, to intercontinental missiles, but that they would also concern nuclear arms in Europe, including U.S. forward-based means. When the second stage began, following the conclusion of the SALT I treaty, the SALT II talks, we reminded the Americans that it would be appropriate, within the framework of these talks, to devote attention also to nuclear weapons in Europe. At that time the Americans adopted, I would say, a beseeching attitude. They were saying: You must understand that the nuclear weapons in Europe are not merely our forward-based means, these are not merely our aircraft; for they also include missiles and nuclear weapons carriers of our NATO allies, Great Britain and France. Since these talks are, for the time being, bilateral, we would not like to get ourselves into a situation in which we would be discussing questions that concern a third side, so to speak, behind its back. Let us rather do this by agreeing on the limitation of our own strategic elements and afterwards, in the third stage, SALT III, let us prepare ourselves for a further course of action. Such was their stance. What is interesting is the fact that it was the American initiative to exclude the linkage between these two subjects. When we link this to the impasse following the collapse of the Geneva talks on nuclear weapons in Europe, we realize that at that time the Americans in fact admitted that at some point it would be necessary to take into account the British and French arsenal, that it was inevitable.

Why did they also have to destroy the Geneva talks? This again reveals the speculative viewpoint of U.S. arms policy, or the so-called [word indistinct] armament. If something is not in their interests, they drive things into an impasse. This is why I think that from the viewpoint of the so-called linkage formula, it was above all necessary for the Soviet Union to clarify for itself the strategic position in which it found itself and its allies. We have been compelled to adopt necessary retaliatory measures. But, speaking for myself, we have not yet fully analyzed the situation, which would enable us to clarify for ourselves where we are [words indistinct]. This is not enough to strengthen our security.

There are other aspects of the SALT II talks that have caused confusion over the American attitude. The key aspect, which Aleksandr Yevgenevich mentioned, the principal one, that the Americans ought to realize is how to come to a halt, how to come to a stop, irrespective of the dynamics of their doctrines and programs.

[Horak] The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have displayed an equally constructive and realistic attitude at the Vienna talks on the reduction of arms and armed forces in central Europe.

[Bovin] The very fact that these talks are being reopened is positive, but I am convinced that as soon as our partners from the West arrive the same merry-go-round will begin. Instead of talking realistically about reduction, they will introduce senseless polemics about the number of various items. The fact is that there has to be political will, a strong political resolve to make progress. We have already sufficiently adjusted our political positions. In my view we have already reached the limits of such changes. They keep on claiming the same thing. I truly think that now it is their turn, but I am afraid that it is still far too early for it.

A great deal also depends on the United States' partners when we are talking about multilateral negotiations. Apart from Vienna the attention is also being focused on Geneva, that is on the disarmament conference, a body known previously as the disarmament committee. Very interesting things are taking place there involving the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons. A very interesting dialogue is being developed there, and it would appear that the constructive proposals made by the Soviet Union with regard to supervision are not totally without prospects. We have demonstrated a truly maximum flexibility as far as supervision is concerned, including the setting up of a (?number) of control posts in the places where chemical weapons would be eliminated. Therefore one cannot exclude that some positive changes may occur, both in Vienna and Geneva, within the framework of these multilateral talks, and I stress multilateral. Where the negotiations are multilateral, they include (?allies), who have their own interests. They have now assumed an especially important role. As British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stated -- in my view correctly, and thereby manifesting one of the aspects of the positive change in British policy -- (?to conduct) negotiations always from the viewpoint of our military interests, to make only military confrontation between our two sides always the subject of such negotiations means to be always in an impasse. (?Let us devote ourselves) to broader interests, (?closer) aspects of mutual understanding and relations. The United States' partners, both in the multilateral negotiations in Vienna, and in Geneva, can assist in resolving questions in which the Americans are unable to move forward.

[Horack] Let us now turn our attention in a somewhat different direction. It is a well known fact that next March the fourth round of consultations between the Soviet Union and China will begin in Moscow. Comrade Bovin could you say something more about the state and perspectives of Soviet-Chinese relations?

[Bovin] If we were to take a merely narrow view of these consultations, they have not yet, after three rounds, brought about any improvement. You know, and probably this is also known to your listeners, that the Chinese have formulated four so-called obstacles to establish talks. What kind of obstacles are these? From the PRC viewpoint, what prevents the normalization of relations between us. First, they say that there are too many Soviet troops on the Soviet-Chinese borders. Second, they say that there are Soviet troops in Mongolia, on the Mongolian-Chinese border. They often link these two first points together so that they then talk about three obstacles. Furthermore, according to them it is the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and finally Soviet assistance to Vietnam and the problem of Kampuchea. These are the obstacles that, from the Chinese point of view, are preventing a broadly based normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. Our principled attitude to this is as follows. We tell our Chinese partners: Let us separate the problems that concern only the Soviet Union and China and deal primarily with them. This concerns, for instance, the Soviet troops on the Chinese borders. There are really a great many of our soldiers there. We are not denying this. Complicated situations have occurred. We experienced Chinese provocations on Damanskiy Island and were compelled to protect ourselves against various unexpected events. Now the situation has changed, and we have nothing against Soviet and Chinese soldiers taking their seats at one table and reaching a compromise solution. After all, there are also great many Chinese troops there. We agree that the numerical strength of the troops on both sides should be reduced.

What is the essence of the other problems? They touch the interests of third countries -- Mongolia, Afghanistan, Vietnam and Kampuchea. We say to our Chinese partners: We cannot sit with you at one table and discuss something that is of interest to Mongolia, Afghanistan or Vietnam, for these countries would also have to take part in such negotiations. The Chinese are sticking to their own line. What does this mean? The Chinese are wise people, well versed in politics. They have a long political tradition, and know very well that we will not cease assisting both Afghanistan and Vietnam. If they know this well and still single out these obstacles I have mentioned, this means that, at the present time, they do not want to speed up the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Last spring I was in Beijing. I talked with well informed people and gained the impression that the Chinese came to the following conclusion. The state of enmity that existed between us is not favorable to their national interests. That is why it is necessary to moderate this emnity. Calm has prevailed on the borders for a long time now. The mentioned consultations are taking place. During the past few years we have achieved an exceptionally rapid growth in the volume of foreign trade; we have concluded an agreement on border trade, begun initial exchanges in the fields of culture and sport and student exchanges. This is all undoubtedly good and positive. In this sense, regardless of the situation in the official talks on the normalization, life if bypassing this problem somewhat and normalization is progressing, albeit slowly. Nonetheless, it is becoming a reality. My personal feeling is that, in this respect, we can look ahead to the future with realistic optimism. We cannot, of course, discount the possibility of some sensational reversals, for the situation is difficult and complicated. A great deal of suspicion has accumulated over 20 years of hostile relations.

[Horak] Deng Xiaoping used in this connection the term, dramatic turn. If the Soviet Union does not accede to three conditions, as he said, this does not need to result in anything dramatic. Progress will be made through small changes and gradual improvement. This is, of course, in my view very important and does indicate something.

[Beglov] I always try to understand the other side. Naturally, we are prepared to push through normalization with the Chinese, and we are objectively ready for it. But we must try to understand the Chinese. Imagine that Deng Xiaoping arrived in Moscow tomorrow. I am convinced that half of the agreements that the Chinese are now concluding with the Americans and Western Europe would be cancelled the day after tomorrow, especially in the field of advanced technology with both military and civilian application. The West is supplying these things to the Chinese naturally in pursuance of a certain political course. If they really want to improve their economy and modernize it, they must also take these circumstances into consideration and conduct, to a certain extent, a two-faced policy. This is understandable.

We have nothing against China's contacts with the West. China, like any other country, must have good relations with Japan and United States, and we have no intention of placing any obstacles in the path of these. We have opposed this only if it was a matter of anti-Soviet direction in such Chinese relations. It is possible that this circumstance also impedes the Chinese, forcing them to take into consideration external influences. But, in any case, I think that the normalization will gradually continue. One cannot expect any rapid course without some turns. But we will hope for small, stable progress in the right direction.

ATHENS TALKS ON BALKAN NFZ VIEWED WITH WELCOME

PM021058 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 84 First Edition p 5

[Nikolay Miroshnik "Commentator's Column": "The First Steps"]

[Text] Athens -- The second stage of the meeting of Balkan countries' representatives at expert level devoted to the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the region has ended in the Greek capital.

The Athens talks between official delegations from the five states -- Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey -- have confirmed that, despite all the differences in their approach toward the solution of the problem, all sides are aware of the necessity and urgency of freeing the Balkans from nuclear weapons and in this way strengthening security and the climate of trust and good-neighborliness in this part of the world. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 28 February carries a similar article in its Second Edition which rewords the previous sentence as follows: The Athens talks between official delegations from the five states -- Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey -- have confirmed that, despite all the differences in their approach toward the solution of the problem, all sides are aware of the necessity and urgency of creating a Balkan nuclear free zone and in this way strengthening security and the climate of trust and good-neighborliness in this part of the world.] The meeting's participants approach this question comprehensively, examining not only the main task -- turning the region into a nuclear-free zone -- but also other parallel measures helping to develop the process of detente and multilateral cooperation there.

Of course, the "defusing" of the Balkans alone [The PRAVDA Second Edition here reads: Of course, the rejection of nuclear weapons in the Balkans alone...] still does not solve the problem of nuclear disarmament in Europe as a whole. But the process which has started here can and must serve as a good example to be followed by other states and peoples. The creation of such zones in central and northern Europe ans in the long term the freeing of the entire continent from nuclear arsenals are the only reasonable way [illegible] the preservation of peace. It is important that the first steps along this path be taken now, when U.S. and NATO militarist circles are trying to push the Europeans increasingly close to the abyss of nuclear catastrophe and are piling more and more new missiles into their home, which is already overflowing with weapons.

Incidentally, the Atlantic strategists are very well aware of the threat to their inhuman plans which could be posed by initiatives like the one that has been taken by the Balkan states. It is no accident that Washington and its closest allies have made considerable efforts to wreck the meeting at all costs, or at least to divert it from discussing the main item on the agenda -- the nuclear-free zone question.

But they failed to achieve this. The meeting's participants remained true to the idea of broad and at the same time specific dialogue, which occurred fruitfully in Athens. This is because the desire for peace and the determination to free Europe and the entire planet from the threat of nuclear destruction today have an increasingly persistent hold on the masses and enjoy the mightly support of the peoples. Only the most shortsighted politicians can fail to take these feelings into account.

U.S. 'EVADING' 'CONSTRUCTIVE' CHERNENKO PROPOSALS

LD032252 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Excerpts] The main goal of the Soviet Communist Party and state is to raise the well-being of Soviet people and to avert the threat of war. Such is the keynote of comments coming in from all over the world on the speech by the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Konstantin Chernenko, at an election meeting in Moscow.

The American Department of State has made an official statement on the speech by the Soviet Communist Party's general secretary. Repeating the peace rhetoric used by President Reagan in his speech on 16 January, the U.S. State Department, however, again failed to back its allegations about a desire for a constructive American-Soviet dialogue with any concrete proposal. It is also indicative that American officials and the press connected with the U.S. ruling circles have been diligently keeping silent and evading the program of constructive measures put forward by Konstantin Chernenko to relax international tension and develop a Soviet-American dialogue.

USSR POLICY 'STRIKING CONTRAST' TO U.S. LINE

PM021516 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Mar 84 First Edition p 1

[Viktor Linnik "International Commentary": "Words and Deeds"]

[Text] The closer the noisy battles of the latest presidential campaign approach, the more frequently we can hear assurances addressed to us from the White House about readiness for constructive dialogue.

"We must and will involve the Soviet Union in dialogue," the President said in his sensational January speech on Soviet-American relations.

"We could create the foundation for greater mutual understanding and constructive dialogue.., if the Soviet Government displays the same spirit as we...", he emotionally assured an American radio audience in February.

The administration's attempts to turn everything upside down -- and present things in such a way as if the solution of the problems in international relations created through the fault of the United States depends on the Soviet Union -- are not new....

The Geneva talks -- the most intensive talks on arms reduction -- are being conducted on our initiative, the President once said for example. He said this without troubling in the least over the fact that his administration needed 10 months -- moreover under pressure from the allies and world public opinion -- to start talks on nuclear arms limitation in Europe, and 17 months to get down to negotiating on reducing strategic weapons. He said this while advancing proposals known to be unacceptable to the USSR and conducting talks without deferring for 1 day the programs launched by the United States for "modernizing the strategic trend."

This was said by the head of a state which in just over 10 years has not ratified a single agreement in the strategic arms control sphere. The Reagan administration left the talks on a total nuclear test ban and is not responding to the USSR's appeals to return to the talks on banning antisatellite weapons, which were broken off by the United States.

There are no visible signs of the Unites States' departure from its allegiance to the idea of deploying Pershing and cruise missiles in West Europe; on the contrary, it is perfectly obvious that Washington assigns a special role to the Euromissiles in an attempt to gain military superiority over the USSR.

U.S. military spending in fiscal 1984 is 50 percent in excess of the Pentagon's budget at the time of Reagan's accession to the White House. Appropriations for the next fiscal year signify a 30-percent increase in dollar injections into the Pentagon.

The U.S. military is hatching the most dangerous plans for transferring the arms race to space, which threatens mankind with unforeseeable consequences. Aggressive acts of undeclared war are being carried out in Central America, the Near East, and Africa.

Just a brief list is sufficient to make one realize that Washington's real policy is by no means the most effective background for the White House's increasing assurances of peaceableness. It is not surprising that election considerations are forcing the President to find a dusty lyre in the White House attics and to try to compose on it what are virtually odes to peace. This thrashing about by politicians to suit the situation in election year is axiomatic in U.S. political life.

And yet, it would be premature to attribute the "new signals" from Washington simply to the election situation. It is not just the intention to hold on to the Presidency for another 4 years which is forcing the White House boss to change the hawk's screaming for the dove's cooing. The reason here goes much deeper.

At a time when, as a result of the gigantic stepping up of military spending in the last 3 years, the U.S. budget deficits are running 400-500 percent bigger than under the preceding president, Carter, and when these deficits are hanging like a sword of Damocles over the prospects for "America's economic recovery" -- the White House has something to think about. When, for the same reasons, the U.S. federal debt has increased to the astronomical sum of $1.5 trillion, this is serious cause for alarm.

When, in the last year alone, there has been a sixfold increase in the number of Americans, worried by the fact that the administration's course in international affairs means an increase in the threat of nuclear war, and when the mass media and dozens of leading politicians in the Western countries, including the Democrats aspiring to the Presidency, say that Reagan's policy is a "dangerous slide toward war" -- this is when the President is starting to don the robe of peace-lover.

When, as a result of the policy of feverishly increasing military expenditure at the expense of social spending, the number of Americans living below the official poverty line is 4 million greater than 3 years ago, then it is time to go out on to the White House lawn with another ration of words unsupported by actions.

When 60 percent of Americans polled think that Soviet-American relations will be a main issue in the 1984 persidential campaign, that means that they expect the great power's leadership not to revile the USSR but to show the responsibility and understanding required by the present extremely complex international situation.

Washington's leaders, even such ideologically blinkered ones as the present leaders, cannot fail to see that the main premises of the "crusade" against socialism are simply not holding up.

The tasks which the "crusaders" sought to resolve are not only not being resolved but are incapable of being resolved. The strategy of exhausting the Soviet Union by an arms race "beyond its strength," by economic sanctions, and by increasing the decibel rating of "psychological warfare" is not weakening us, it is hitting its own creators.

Our people's moral-political unity is such that it is forcing even the American "Sovietologists" to acknowledge despite all the "crusaders'" forecasts, the very highly stable character of Soviet society. The completion ahead of schedule of the construction of the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline showed the whole world the futility of the sanctions announced by the Reagan administration. The measures we have taken in response to the siting of American missiles in West Europe is a weighty argument confirming the futility of any attempts to pursue strong-arm diplomacy with the USSR. Any American dash for military superiority will be neutralized by us, by our labor and strenuous exercise of will, heart, and mind.

Whatever is said in Washington about the "reassuring" NATO firmness and solidarity shown on the question of siting American missiles, it is obvious that the Atlantic community is, as before, riven by continuing disagreements on this and other problems of East-West relations. No matter how loud the haughty speeches about NATO's unapproachability on the question of the siting of Pershings "in the face of pressure from the USSR" may be West Europe is by no means as calm as the NATO optimists would like to assure us it is. The American missiles on the European Continent remain a factor seriously destabilizing international relations. It is precisely the West Europeans' continuing nervousness which is forcing Washington to make conciliatory gestures.

Finally, the White House has been forced to maneuver further because it is now witness to the most striking failures in its aggressive foreign policy since the time of the Vietnam war. The evacuation of American Marines from Beirut which is underway is virtually unanimously regarded as a collapse for America's Near East strategy over many years.

The present situation graphically demonstrates that U.S. policy is aimed at excluding the Soviet Union from the process of Near East settlement, and is falling apart. No matter how regrettable this discovery may be to Washington, it is a reality which it must take into account in its attempts to break the Near East deadlock.

U.S. policy in Central America must also be considered a serious failure. The strong-arm methods favored by the administration for resolving foreign policy problems are here too clearly revealing their bankruptcy. The example of tiny Grenada showed Washington what the international community's reaction to a possible invasion of Nicaragua or Cuba would be.

In short, the deadlocks in American policy at present are such that it needs to be adjusted, and no longer just in its form but in its substance. The change in White House rhetoric is something that has to a considerable extent been forced upon it. The logic of events is such that it will force the White House to make the transition from a change of tone to changes of substance.

The Soviet Union's firm and consistent policy, free of short-term considerations, makes a striking contrast to Washington's thrashing about. This was confirmed with renewed conviction by the CPSU Central Committee February plenum, which pointed to the immutability of our foreign policy course elaborated by the 26th party congress and subsequent plenums.

We clearly realize the need for radical steps to be made to improve the present extremely dangerous international situation.

There is no need to persuade us of the usefulness and expediency of dialogue. But we are in favor of productive dialogue which really facilitates the resolution of the problem which are casting a gloomy shadow over the international situation. It is not we who are stalling. A series of major initiatives of fundamental significance benefiting everyone alike have been proposed to the West. We are ready to do everything necessary to return the world to detente.

LACK OF U.S. RESPONSE TO SOVIET OFFERS LAMENTED

LD032132 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 84

[From the Vremya newscast; Eduard Mnatsakanov talk]

[Text] Hello, comrades. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko stressed in his speech at the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that continuity is not an abstract concept. It is something living and real. It means essentially to move forward without stopping. Comrade Chernenko's speech at the pre-election meeting of voters from the Kuybyshevskiy constituency, with its exposition of the main directions on key issues of our life, is itself indeed an example of living and creative continuity in politics.

Commenting on the foreign policy part of the speech made by the Soviet leader, the foreign mass media drew particular attention mainly to two important points: First, the USSR not only wants a real drastic change for the better in Soviet-American relations and in the total international situation, but it also proposes concrete steps toward achieving such a drastic change. Secondly, the Soviet Union is ready at any time to reach an agreement with the other nuclear powers for the joint recognition of such norms of interstate relations that would remove the threat of nuclear war from today's and future generations. The foreign press writes in this connection about new peace signals from Moscow, and this is indeed so.

Signals, so to speak, have been coming from Washington as well. The vile abuse has been replaced by appeals for dialogue. However, these appeals remained hanging in the air, since Washington did not put forward any constructive idea or proposal toward a true dialogue.

Is human civilization doomed to perish in the blazing vortex of atoms turned demons? asks the U.S. President with characteristic grandiloquency. But of course atoms don't turn into demons by themselves. It would be truer to say this of those who want to transform atoms not for the benefit of civilization but rather for its annihilation.

As Comrade Chernenko stated in his speech to voters, the U.S. Administration's assurance of its good intentions could be taken seriously only if they would be backed up by real deeds. The Soviet Union has always stood for seeking mutually acceptable solutions on concrete issues for the benefit of both sides, for the benefit of peace. People want peace and tranquility, not military hysteria. It is fully possible to establish equal, honest, and enduring relations among states, based on trust and an ability to respect the legitimate interests of each other. This is what our country is calling for.

SENATORS URGE ACTION TO IMPROVE U.S.-USSR TIES

PM011422 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Feb 84 First Edition p 5

[A. Lyutyy report: "We Need Peace"]

[Text] "The Soviet Union is sincerely striving to study all possibilities for improving bilateral relations and limiting the arms race."

"People there are ready to conduct dialogue, but this dialogue must be serious." This is the opinion of two well known U.S. senators -- Joseph Biden from Delaware and William Cohen from Maine. They have just returned from Moscow, where they met with a number of our government's leading figures, scientists, and public representatives.

The senators' trip and the press conference on Capitol Hill attracted considerable attention here, as did their statements. It is impossible to regard the legislators as "liberals" or as people who may be suspected of excessive sympathies toward the Kremlin. Cohen, for example, is a Republican with excellent relations with the White House. Even the most diehard rightwingers are not afraid that in his 2 days' stay in Moscow he suddenly "turned red." For this reason he and Biden were listened to seriously, without prejudice.

The senators' arguments are on the whole highly sensible. This is the thesis of the speeches: If the Reagan administration wants -- practically and not just verbally -- to improve relations with the Soviet Union, it must take very specific steps in this direction. The Soviet Union is wholly in favor of serious talks, but Moscow treats with considerable skepticism the President's declarations of his sincerity in approaching arms limitation problems. It is difficult, Biden said, to have immediate trust in the sincerity of a president who quite recently described the other great power as an evil empire." It is just as if a man brutally insulted another and then invited him to a restaurant as if nothing has happened. Thus, Moscow's skepticism is justified.

A television reporter at the press conference asked the reasonable question: Why should the Russians trust Reagan? Will he make himself into a "dove" until 6 November, when the elections are held, and then 7 November -- if he wins -- return to the "evil empire" theme? And, it seems, it is not even a question of rhetoric, for Washington's position on the chief matters -- on questions of war and peace -- has not undergone any changes. The President, the secretary of state, and his aides are now adjusting every step to the election calendar, trying to convince Americans of their peaceableness and to remove from the election campaign agenda the damaging question of the sharp deterioration in Soviet-American relations through the fault of the United States. Meanwhile, the Pershing II's and Tomahawks continue to arrive in Western Europe. Peace there is becoming increasingly fragile. Washington is flexible in its desire to cram the continent with missiles.

After the senators' press conference, I called Robert Drinan, a veteran of U.S. political life and former congressman, now executive director of the influential organization "Americans for Democratic Action." This is what he said to me: "We need to live in peace. People now need peace as they need air. I am for detente, for, despite all the differences, our countries and peoples can and must coexist and cooperate. But I doubt very much that Mr Reagan thinks like this."

This is what many people think. According to the results of one public opinion poll, 63 percent of Americans are convinced that Reagan's reelection will bring the country even closer to war.

Robert Drinan has visited the Soviet Union several times, and when I asked him to say a few words for the readers of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, he said with special warmth: "I hope very sincerely that relations with the Soviet Union will improve. I would very much like them to return to the atmosphere of cooperation and mutual assistance which existed during our joint struggle against fascism..."

REAGAN'S RECENT RHETORIC MERELY ELECTION 'PLOY'

PM050939 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 26 Feb 84 (Signed to Press 21 Feb 84) p 6

[Gennadiy Gerasimov article: "Will Tocqueville Be Proved Right Once Again?"]

[Text] Santa Barbara-Moscow -- President Ronald Reagan heard about Yuriy Andropov's death at 3.30 a.m. (local time) on February 10. The president was on his ranch in Santa Barbara, CA. at the time.

By morning, the whole town, indeed the whole of America, was discussing the president's possible course of action. Some said he would probably go to Moscow. Apparently he was recommended to do so by Secretary of State George Shultz. Others expressed their regret and foresaw new opportunities opening up in the future.

The election campaign is now gathering momentum in the United States. According to Alexis de Tocqueville, a 19th-century observer of political etiquette in America, in election year the president rules in the interests of his own re-election. In keeping with this tradition President Reagan has, since January, been using a different tone in his comments on the Soviet Union. Senator Paul Lazalt, who is in charge of Reagan's re-election committee, explains this metamorphosis as follows: "We have told Reagan that as we travel around the country, we find people are nervous about a new cold war. They don't like it when the two superpowers don't talk."

Hence the theme of "dialogue" in the presidential candidate's speeches as distinct from those of the president. Reagan stayed on in Santa Barbara, and did not return to Washington until Monday morning, but in the statement read on his behalf by Larry Speakes, the White House deputy press secretary, he expressed hopes of using the "opportunities at hand" with a view to finding common ground" and establishing a "mutually beneficial relationship". Speakes also confirmed that Vice-President George Bush had taken to Moscow the President's personal message to the Soviet leadership, which had been written largely in the spirit of earlier presidential statements on U.S.-Soviet relations.

Bush expressed satisfaction over his meeting in Moscow with the new Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko. As was confirmed during their talk, Soviet-American relations should be based on the principles of equality and equal security, mutual consideration for each other's legitimate interests and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Should the Americans choose to demonstrate a practical readiness to adhere to these principles, then work could begin on improving relations between the two countries.

This practical readiness is obviously lacking in recent American statements. In his meeting with the press in the White House on February 15, the President, among other things, confirmed the immuatability of the American stand on U.S. missiles in Europe.

Reagan is being told by all and sundry that his words about a "constructive dialogue" should be backed up by positive and constructive actions or proposals. Otherwise, as THE NEW YORK TIMES analyst Leslie H. Gelb wrote the other day, the "Soviet officials are likely to regard Reagan's oratorical olive branches as a political ploy designed to delude the American people into thinking that he is a man of peace".

After what happened, more doubts have arisen, which THE NEW YORK TIMES sees as "a larger tragedy in Mr Andropov's passing". This "larger tragedy" lies in the fact that, the newspaper says, President Reagan now has an excuse to do nothing at all pleading a "transition" in Moscow.

In other words, he may confine himself to waving his "oratorical olive branches" now and again to bide for time, preferably until November 6 (election day). "Until then, Mr Reagan's Soviet slate is not really clean; it's empty," THE NEW YORK TIMES editorial said.

So what can we expect after November 6? TIME magazine reports: "Aides generally agree that Reagan would be more conservative, more ideological, less amenable to compromise in a second term." Of course, he will be free of re-election concerns then.

In the meantime, as we can see, Reagan is behaving according to Tocqueville.

Yet he admits that "there's no alternative to dialogue in a nuclear age".

Moscow is ready for dialogue on the elementary conditions of equality, as stipulated above.

It is up to Washington to cancel out the tradition mentioned by Tocqueville.

TIKHONOV RECEIVES U.S. BUSINESSMEN IN KREMLIN

PM051056 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 84 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Conversation in the Kremlin"]

[Text] Moscow February 29 -- Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov today received in the Kremlin William Verity, prominent American businessman who is cochairman of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council, currently in Moscow to discuss questions connected with preparations for holding the council's meeting in New York.

On the state of Soviet-American trade and economic relations, Nikolay Tikhonov stressed that there are considerable opportunities for developing mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. What is necessary for that is that the artificial obstacles erected in the way of this cooperation by the American Administration be lifted. As for the Soviet Union, it invariably favors extensive economic ties with all countries on the basis of equality and equal benefit.

William Verity favored the development of economic cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, normalization of Soviet-American relations.

Taking part in the conversation were N.S. Patolichev, minister of foreign trade, V.N. Sushkov, cochairman of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council, and (D. Giffen), vice president of Armco Steel.

PRC'S GU MU MEETS WITH PITOVRANOV IN BEIJING

OW040010 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Text] A member of China's leadership has noted rich opportunities for economic and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union. According to XINHUA, this view has been voiced by Gu Mu, a member of the State Council and of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee. He met in Beijing with Pitovranov, president of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and industry.

Gu Mu pointed out the significance in expanding trade and economic relations between China and the Soviet Union in the past 2 years. According to what he said, this is evidence of definite improvements in the relations between the two countries.

USSR PARTICIPATES IN BEIJING MEDICAL EXHIBITION

PM011501 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Feb 84 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exhibition in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing, 28 Feb -- An international medical equipment exhibition has opened here. More than 200 firms and organizations from 11 countries, including the Soviet Union, are taking part in it.

PRC-UK CONTINUE 'CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION'

PM021132 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 84 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Anglo-Chinese Talks"]

[Text] London, 27 Feb -- Anglo-Chinese talks on the question of Hong Kong have ended here. The official communique says that the sides have continued constructive discussions on the Hong Kong question. It is planned to hold the next round of talks in Beijing in the second half of March.

Informed circles noted that London is not insisting on participating in the administration of Hong Kong after 1997, provided China keeps its promises concerning the inviolability of the capitalist system in Hong Kong for 50 years after that date. The same sources claim that, if these conditions are observed, the talks could and successfully be the end of this year.

MPR REJECTS PRC DEMANDS FOR SOVIET TROOP PULLOUT

PM021715 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 84 First Edition p 5

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 2 Mar -- The normalization and improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations, while it is of great importance for the peoples of the two countries, would certainly contribute to strengthening the cause of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world, an MPR [Mongolian People's Republic] statement disseminated here says. This is precisely why, the document stresses, the MPR Government attaches great importance to the Soviet-Chinese political consultations currently being held.

However, the statement says, it is impossible to overlook the fact that during the consultations the Chinese side is putting forward a number of preconditions for the normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC. These include a question that is entirely a matter of the internal competence of People's Mongolia and affects its sovereign rights. Namely the demand for the withdrawal from the MPR of the Soviet troop units that are temporarily present on its territory.

The MPR Government, the statement stresses, categorically rejects this demand put forward by the Chinese side. As the MPR Government has already pointed out repeatedly, the Soviet troop units are on the MPR's territory solely at the request of its government, in accordance with the Mongolian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual aid. The Chinese side is well aware of the true reasons why they were brought onto MPR territory. The claim that their presence on Mongolian territory creates a threat to China's security is completely without foundation.

The MPR Government states once again that the presence of Soviet troop units in Mongolia is exclusively Mongolia's internal concern and bears on Mongolian-Soviet relations alone. Therefore the question of their withdrawal from MPR territory cannot be a subject of discussion at the Soviet-Chinese political consultations. It is also perfectly clear that the presence of the Soviet troop units in the MPR cannot be regarded as any kind of obstacle to the normalization of relations between the PRC and the USSR.

As for Mongolian-Chinese relations, the statement says in conclusion, the MPR, proceeding from its principled and consistent peace-loving policy, has advocated and continues to advocate the restoration and development of good-neighborliness and cooperation between the MPR and the PRC on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, the nonuse of force, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

JAPANESE CP PROPOSES 'RADICAL CHANGE' IN BUDGET

PM021254 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 84 First Edition p 4

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "Communist Party Proposals"]

[Text] Tokyo, 29 Feb -- The Communist Party of Japan [JCP] has submitted for parliamentary discussion its proposals on the revision of the fiscal 1984 state budget. They envisage a considerable reduction in military spending and in the taxation of the working strata of the population and an increase in appropriations for social needs.

Addressing a press conference, JCP representatives noted that the draft state budget presented to parliament by the government and the ruling Liberal Democratic Party is antipopular in character. Military spending is increased for the fourth consecutive year. The people's tax burden is becoming increasingly heavy whereas assistance and subsidies to big capital are growing. We propose a radical change in the content of the budget, the JCP representatives stated. It should serve the cause of peace and disarmament. With this aim in mind the JCP is demanding that military appropriations be reduced by Y1.2 trillion, that the taxation of the working strata of the population be reduced by Y2 trillion, and that spending on social needs be increased by Y2.65 trillion.

USTINOV BEGINS OFFICIAL VISIT TO INDIA

Seen Off by Romanov

LD041127 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1024 GMT 4 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow, 4 March (TASS) -- At the invitation of the Government of the Republic of India, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, today left Moscow for Delhi.

He was seen off at the airport by G.V. Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary; B.P. Bugayev, minister of civil aviation; Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy minister of defense; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy minister of defense; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, USSR first deputy minister of defense; Army General A.A. Yepishev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; Army General G.K. Tsinev, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB; Chief Marshal of Artillery V.F. Tolubko, USSR deputy minister of defense; Marshal of Aviation A.I. Kolunov; Chief Marshal of Aviation P.S. Kutakhov; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.K. Kurkotkin; Marshal of the Engineer Troops N.F. Shestopalov; Army General A.T. Altunin; Army General Shkadov; and also Army General P.G. Lyshev, commander of the Moscow Military District troops; and other generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Among those seeing him off was A.N. Madhavan, temporary Indian charge d'affaires to the USSR.

Arrival in New Delhi

LD050636 Moscow TASS in English 0622 GMT 5 Mar 84

[Text] New Delhi March 5 TASS -- Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and defence minister of the USSR, arrived in the Indian capital today for an official visit at the invitation of the Indian Government.

At Palam Airport, he was welcomed by India's defence minister, Ramaswami Venkataraman, by chiefs of staffs of three services of the armed forces and by other officials.

Remarks on Arrival

LD051018 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 5 Mar 84

[Text] New Delhi March 5 TASS -- Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and defense minister of the USSR, who arrived in Delhi today at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of India, spoke to journalists in the Delhi airport.

He said: "I am very glad to have again arrived with my comrades in your wonderful country, in its capital Delhi. I convey most cordial greetings to the people of friendly India of behalf of the Soviet people, on behalf of our leadership, from General Secretary of the Central Committee of our party Konstantin Chernenko, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov, USSR Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and our other comrades. We also convey greetings and best wishes first of all from Konstantin Chernenko and all our leadership to the prime minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi."

"First of all I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to Defense Minister of India Ramaswami Venkataraman for the warm welcome. I, of course, hope that our forthcoming conversations will have good results just as has been the case before. The Soviet Union and India need and ought to cooperate. Relations between our countries -- especially after the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation -- have developed in the right direction. We have different social systems, but when you want to live in peace, when you want world peace, this cooperation is very good, useful and essential".

Meets Gandhi, Venkataraman

LD051153 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 5 Mar 84

[Text] New Delhi March 5 -- TASS -- Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and defence minister of the USSR, who arrived here today for an official visit, paid tribute to the memory of the outstanding fighters for India's independence Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Dmitriy Ustinov placed wreaths at their memorials Rajghat and Shantivana, and at the tomb of the unknown soldier.

On the same day, Dmitriy Ustinov was received by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Defense Minister Ramaswami Venkataraman. During the conversations they discussed issues of mutual interest.

The meetings and conversations were held in a friendly atmosphere.

Further Reportage

For Delhi radio and AFP reports on Defense Minister Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov's official visit to India see the India section of the 5 March South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

WEINBERGER VISIT TO MIDDLE EAST EXAMINED

LD020946 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- Judging by the latest reports, the tragic development of the Lebanese events might take an even more ominous turn. U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger paid an unexpected visit to the Middle East. At a meeting with Marines, he expressed the U.S. President's "admiration" with the remarkable work that has been done.

It is known what kind of "work" that was, writes in this connection Yuriy Glukhov in PRAVDA. American warriers have on their conscience hundreds of people killed or wounded, Palestinians and Lebanese, dwelling quarters of towns turned into ruins, villages that were razed to the ground.

It is exactly the U.S. interference up to the armed intervention, the Israeli aggression which was supported by American bayonets, that deprived the Lebanese people of peace for long. It is only through the termination of that gross humiliation and arbitrary rule, through withdrawal of troops of Israeli interventionists from Lebanon and the withdrawal of the U.S. naval armada away from Lebanese shores that can bring about normalisation of the situation in that region.

It is to be noted, the news analyst stresses, that Caspar Weinberger undertook his visit at a time when important Lebanese-Syrian summit negotiations were under way in Damascus and when agreed-upon steps to attain peace and national unity are being elaborated. As is reported by the Arab and western press, what is also discussed is abrogation of the feterring "peace agreement" with Israel, which was imposed upon Lebanon by Washington and Tel Aviv.

In these conditions, the unexpected appearance of the chief of the Pentagon in the Middle East after the so-called "redeployment" of Marines looks like on-the-spot reconnaissance before the beginning of combat actions. Tel Aviv is known to have already threatened the Lebanese with repressions and "retribution" for the possible renunciation of the "agreement". There is every indication, writes Yuriy Glukhov, that Washington is also ready to bring about these threats, by deliberately thwarting the work of the U.N. Security Council.

U.S. MIDEAST POLICY 'DIRECT THREAT TO PEACE'

LD292035 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 29 Feb 84

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS -- The U.S. actions in Lebanon, combined with plans of further build up of "strategic cooperation" between Washington and Tel Aviv, which are now being realised, exceed by far the framework of the Lebanese problem and acquire regional and international character," writes today IZVESTIYA political news analyst Konstantin Geyvandov.

"Each separate deal, that was imposed by the U.S. Administration, results in American presence which comes in place of or supplements the Israeli military presence in the Middle East. This is the phenomenon which seems to be inadmissible and unacceptable in such a delicate and sensitive region, and not only for the Arabs but also for other adjacent states," the author stresses.

"Military and political actions of the U.S. Administration in the Middle East and the Mediterranean are aimed not only at political and economic enslavement of Arab countries but also at their turning into a springboard that would threaten the interests and security of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries," the article runs.

"Being aware of Washington's habits, it would not be exaggeration to suppose that with the escalation of military preparations it will develop the temptation to deploy in the region also the newest nuclear weapons along with relevant delivery vehicles. The patent confirmation of that is the latest experience of Western Europe. Therefore there is no doubt that if things take such a turn, Arab countries which, like Israel, stepped on the path of close military-political cooperation with the United States, would turn into Washington's nuclear hostages," the news analyst points out. "Hence it is not difficult to make the conclusion that the policy in the Middle East, which is conducted by the U.S. Administration, is a direct threat to peace and security of the peoples of the region and adjacent states. That threat should not be connived at, but it should be firmly opposed. It is necessary to fight against it, exerting every effort. It appears that there can be no two opinions about that."

VETO OF FRENCH RESOLUTION ON LEBANON EXPLAINED

LD022312 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Speaking to voters in Moscow on Friday, General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko said that recent years have been marked by the massive intensification of the policy of the more aggressive forces of American imperialism, a policy of open militarism, claims to world domination, resistance to progress, and violations of the rights and freedoms of nations. The Soviet leader stressed that the world has seen quite a few examples of the practical effects of that policy. Among them are the invasion of Lebanon and the occupation of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, threats to Syria, and finally the turning of Western Europe into a launching pad for American nuclear missiles aimed on the Soviet Union and its allies. Now a commentary written by Sergey Losev on one example of the dangerous militarist course of the current U.S. Administration, developments in and around Lebanon:

In recent months, acting under the flag of the so-called Multinational Force, U.S. Armed Forces have subjected Lebanon to hundreds of tons of bombs and artillery shells. The result for the Lebanese people has been tremendous material damage, casualties on a wide scale, and great suffering. In these actions, the United States leadership has totally ignored the United Nations resolutions on Lebanon. A year and a half ago the United Nations Security Council demanded the unconditional and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territory of the country.

Although the American Marines and Navy ships were sent there on the pretext of ensuring the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon, it ran contrary to United Nations demands. Washington has virtually done everything to secure Israel's occupation of Lebanon and to back it up with U.S. military presence in this small Arab nation. Even though the American Marines have been transferred from the Beirut Airport to ships of the 6th Fleet, the objectives of U.S. armed intervention have remained the same. It is no accident that U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, speaking on the helicopter carrier Guam, said that the United States intends to maintain its Air Force and naval presence in the region. And, speaking in Beirut, Weinberger confirmed that the 6th Fleet would continue to provide air and naval gunfire on Lebanon. As he spoke, Lebanese communities fell victims to naval gunfire.

In this context, it's understandable why the United States representative in the United Nations Security Council so stubbornly resisted demands in the original French draft resolution against the resumption of shelling and bombing Lebanon.

While the French resolution, revised under pressure by the United States, was put to a vote in the Security Council, the civilian population of Lebanon was under barbaric fire from American ships. The Soviet Union could not support such a resolution in the United Nations, a resolution the United States tried to impose and that would, as it were, legalize American armed interference in the affairs of another state.

The United States Administration apparently viewed the United Nations troops replacement of the so-called Multinational Force like the transfer of the United States Marines from shore to ship, giving the White House the opportunity to continue bombing and shelling Lebanese territory. That approach will not help restore peace. The Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, was forced to use its right of veto and so the resolution did not pass. As it was stressed recently by the Soviet foreign minister, Andrey Gromyko, not a single unbiased observer could believe that naval gunfire and military interference by the Marines could break the deadlock that the United States had created in efforts for a settlement in the region.

For its part, the Soviet Union proposes a political settlement in the region with just consideration of the interests of all sides. This is the reason for the Soviet proposal for a special international conference on the Middle East.

U.S. SHIPS 'MAY RESUME SHELLING' IN LEBANON

LD011057 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1940 GMT 1 Mar 84

[From "The World Today" program presented by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Excerpt] Ships of the American 6th Fleet on which the Marines from Beirut have been redeployed are still occupying their positions on the Lebanese coast. Weinberger, the Pentagon boss, having taken extraordinary security measures -- you see him in a bullet-proof vest -- inspected the positions of the interventionists. At the same time, it has been announced in the Pentagon that since Marines still remain in Beirut to guard the American Embassy and American military instructors, the artillery of the American ships may resume shelling Lebanon at any minute in order to defend them, so to speak.

ISRAELI PLANES STRAFE LEBANESE TOWN 5 MARCH

LD050656 Moscow TASS in English 0636 GMT 5 Mar 84

[Text] Beirut March 5 TASS -- The Israeli military has staged another act of barbarity in Lebanon. In the morning today Israeli warplanes strafed a district of the town of Bhamdun south of the Beirut-Damascus Highway which is controlled by Lebanese National Patriotic Forces. The bombing run caused civilian casualties and serious material damage.

SYRIA'S AL-ASAD PLEDGES TO SUPPORT LEBANESE

LD041918 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 4 Mar 84

[Text] Damascus March 4 TASS -- Syria will remain on the side of the Lebanese people in their struggle against the Israeli invaders and (?for) the efforts to reach national accord in Lebanon, Syria's President Hafiz al-Asad said in his conversation with Walid Junblatt, chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, and N. Berri, leader of the Shi'ite "Amal" organisation here.

According to the news agency SANA, the discussion concentrated on the situation in Lebanon.

AL-QADHDHAFI: U.S. LEBANON POLICY 'FIASCO'

LD032044 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Text] Tripoli March 3 TASS -- The aggressive policy of the Reagan administration in Lebanon has suffered a fiasco, said Muammar al-Qadhdhafi the leader of the Libyan revolution. Addressing a celebration meeting on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of proclamation of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, he pointed out that neither the latest weapons, nor the naval armada helped the United States break the will of the Lebanese people. The leader of the Libyan revolution spoke highly of the heroism of the Lebanese National Patriotic Forces and Syria's staunchness in the struggle against the conspiracy of imperialism and Zionism.

Al-Qadhdhafi has also strongly condemned the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and stressed that this step runs contrary to the will of the European peoples.

IRAQ-IRAN BATTLES; U.S. 'INTERFERENCE' PLANS

LD021318 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Baghdad March 2 TASS -- Heavy fighting is continuing unabated on the Iran-Iraq front where both warring sides are widely using ground troops, aviation, and naval forces. A spokesman for the Iraqi High Military Command said that, acting on the other to block Iranian seaports, Iraqi air and naval forces yesterday destroyed eight ships following to [as received] Bandar-Khomeyni (Iran) in the north-eastern part of the Persian Gulf. The communique said that Iraqi units beat back the enemy's offensive east of Basra, destroying two divisions of "Guards of the Islamic Revolution".

Iraqi planes and helicopters flew some 350 combat sorties yesterday, dealing aimed strikes at concentration areas of the Iranian army, airfields, artillery positions and communications. Iraqi aviation and anti-aircraft gunners shot down two fighters and four helicopters of the enemy.

It is also reported that Iranian troops continue massive artillery bombardments of the cities Basra, Khanaqin and Mandali, causing human casualties and destruction.

Nicosia March 2 TASS -- After repulsing three enemy counter-attacks, Iranian regular units waged combat in Iraqi territory, the Iranian news agency IRNA reported. The Iraqi side lost 1,300 troops killed, 40 tanks and armoured personnel carriers destroyed, and eleven planes downed in latest fighting.

In the past 24 hours, Iraqi long-range artillery pounded the Iranian city of Abadan. There are killed and wounded among civilians. The bombardment caused heavy material damage.

New York March 2 TASS -- The American administration, which has from the very beginning fanned the flames of the Iran-Iraq conflict, is making every effort to prevent an end to the bloodshed and the achievement of a political settlement. A staffer of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the U.S. Army College, Olson, cynically said that American interests demanded waiting it out until Iran and Iraq bled each other white.

The New York [as received] newspaper CHICAGO SUN TIMES openly wrote about plans for U.S. armed interference in the Iran-Iraq conflict. It stressed that Washington was going in the event of emergencies to capture oil fields in the Persian Gulf and establish control over the Hormuz Strait - the gateway to the Indian Ocean.

The CHICAGO SUN TIMES said that the main role in carrying out the planned operation had been assigned to the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Force".

IRAQ, IRAN BATTLE REPORTS, U.S. SHIP MOVE CITED

LD041136 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT 4 Mar 84

[Text] Baghdad March 4 TASS -- According to a communique of the High Command of Iraq, the situation on the Iraqi-Iranian front has stabilised. Iraqi aircraft operated actively in the past twenty four hours, delivering strikes on positions and concentration areas of Iranian troops in Maysan sector and to the east of Basra. Limited-scope military operations took place in the northern sector of the front where Iranian troops sustained losses in manpower and materiel.

Iranian artillery shelled the towns of Basra, Zurbayiyah, Khanaqin and Ash-Shihabi. The military communique also reports that Iran has lost up to 50,000 man killed since the Iranian offensive began on February 22, this year. The commander of the Iraqi Navy has stated that the Iraqi Armed Forces have destroyed 150 tankers and other ships during the Iraqi-Iranian war.

Nicosia March 4 TASS -- The Iranian news agency IRNA has reported that Iranian troops have advanced ten kilometres deep into Iraqi territory in an area north east of Basra. Considerable losses in manpower and materiel have been inflicted upon the enemy.

The news agency reports that Iraqi aircraft have bombed the town of Dehloran while Iraqi artillery shelled the residential blocks of Abadan.

New York March 4 TASS -- According to news agencies' reports, USS La Salle, the flagship of the squadron of U.S. ships, has entered the port of Sharja which is located in direct proximity to the Strait of Hormuz. The United States is known to have concentrated about 30 combatant ships in the area of the Persian Gulf on the far-fetched plea of "defending U.S. vital interests" and continues to build up its military presence there. There are also British combatant ships in the same area.

IRAN PROTESTS U.S. BUILDUP IN PERSIAN GULF

LD022053 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] New York March 2 TASS -- Iran has strongly protested against the U.S. increasing military buildup in the Persian Gulf. The foreign minister of Iran, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, addressed a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, denouncing the fact that the United States has been expanding the presence of its naval forces in the Persian Gulf and the Oman Sea and, on occasion, has interfered with the movement of the Iranian Air Force and naval fleets within the territorial waters of Iran.

The letter recalled that on January 22, 1984, the flight information centre of the United States Federal Aviation Administration issued a special communique, in which all aircraft flying over the Arabian Sea above the latitude of 20 degrees were demanded to contact American Navy ships on a given frequency. It was pointed out in it that otherwise they would be in serious danger. The letter described the communique as a "clear violation of the fundamental principles of the Chicago Convention on Civil Aviation as well as other conventions concerning the Laws of the Sea. The claim of the said communique to sovereignty over an unspecified part of the free waters of the Persian Gulf, Oman Sea and Arabian Sea has no basis and is legally invalid".

The measures adopted by the United States, the letter said, can be considered a violation of the sovereignty of the coastal countries of the Persian Gulf and the Oman Sea. They are taken by Iran as a threat to peace and security in the region. Iran reiterates that it would exercise its rights to fulfill its commitment regarding the security and protection of its national interests within the perimeters of its territorial waters.

Iran's letter was circulated as a document of the U.N. Security Council.

ALIYEV TO VISIT SYRIA 'FIRST HALF' OF MARCH

LD041225 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 4 Mar 84

[Text] Politburo member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and first deputy premier, Geydar Aliyev, will visit Syria in the first half of this month. The visit, originally scheduled for the first half of last month, was postponed in accordance with a mutual agreement.

EGYPTIAN-SFRY PRESIDENTS' OFFICIAL TALKS END

PM021100 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 84 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Pavlov dispatch: "Conclusion of Talks"]

[Text] Cairo -- Official talks between Egypt's President Husni Mubarak and President of the SFRY Presidency M. Spiljak have ended in the Egyptian capital.

As the local press reports, the sides discussed the situation in the Near East -- Lebanon in particular -- the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, relations between the two countries, and questions of cooperation among the Nonaligned Movement member states.

Speaking at a dinner in honor of the Yugoslav guest, Egypt's president stressed the need to "put an end to the tragedy in Lebanon by increasing the UN role in ensuring peace and stability in Lebanon." Egypt, he noted, will not agree to the partitioning of that country, whether de jure or de facto.

In his turn, President M. Spiljak stressed that "Israel's aggressive and expansionist policy is a source of aggravation of the situation in the Near East." Israel, he noted, continues to oppose a settlement of the conflict on an acceptable basis with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO. He called on the international community to support the struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of their rights, including the right to create an independent state.

After the concluding round of talks, the Egyptian president expressed satisfaction with their results, including on the questions on bilateral economic cooperation. Noting the importance of M. Spiljak's visit to Egypt and of further economic cooperation between the two countries, the newspapers particularly report that the trade turnover between them increased from $29 million in 1971 to $242 million in 1983.

TIES WITH USSR CITED ON MOROCCAN NATIONAL DAY

LD012121 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 1 Mar 84

[Nikolay Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Morocco celebrates the 28th anniversary of its independence and the day of the throne on 2-3 March. Morocco has entered the road of independent development as a result of the people's national liberation struggle.

Relying on the help and support of progressive forces, the Moroccan people destroyed one of the bastions of the French colonialist empire. The USSR was one of the first countries to extend a friendly hand to the young Moroccan state and to provide it with effective support and help in solving its difficult problems, thereby enabling it to become an independent state.

In a relatively short time after its independence, Morocco realized important steps on the road of bolstering its economic independence. Moroccan national industry began to develop, and foreign ownership of the land was ended. The state began to extract phosphorus and iron ore, and became the owner of railroads, means of communications and ports in addition to hydroelectric plants, dams, thermoelectrical plants, and other installations.

For more than a quarter century, the USSR's relations with Morocco have been based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's affairs.

A number of agreements were concluded between the USSR and Morocco including agreements for cooperation in the fields of science, culture, economy, technology, trade, air travel, maritime fishing, radio and television, tourism, and other fields. Mutually beneficial trade and economic relations between the two countries are constantly growing. Morocco is considered one of the USSR's active trading partners in Africa. The most important Soviet exports to Morocco are: petroleum, timber, all kinds of fertilizers, tools and machinery, and equipment including tractors, and other agricultural hardware, householdware, and leisure wear. The USSR imports from Morocco organs, vegetables, phosphorus by-products with which the Soviets are very familiar and which they admire, and raw cork and cork products.

The interests of both countries are also served by economic cooperation, the basis for which was laid in 1966 during the visit of King Hassan II of Morocco to the USSR. Such projects as the electric power plant at (Ayet Hafil), the water complex at Mansour Zahabi and the thermoelectric power plant at Jaradah have become a symbol of fruitful Soviet-Moroccan relations. A long term agreement was signed between the two countries dealing with economic and technical cooperation in the field of phosphates. The leaders of Morocco have repeatedly pointed out that this agreement is an excellent example of economic and technical cooperation agreements based on respect for sovereignty, equality of rights, and consideration of the mutual interests of regimes with different political systems.

Cultural and scientific relations between our two countries are also developing successfully. The USSR provides help to Morocco in preparing national cadres. At present, more than 600 Moroccan students are studying in the USSR, about 1,000 Moroccans have already studied in the USSR. The bolstering of relations between the USSR and Morocco does not harm any third country. It is compatible with the interests of both peoples and has good prospects.

Konstantin Chernenko, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, has pointed out during the Central Committee meeting in February that solidarity with the peoples who have rid themselves of imperialist subservience and have marched along the road of independent development has been and will continue to be one of the bases of the foreign policy of our party and the USSR Government. On the occasion of Morocco's national day, the Soviets express their confidence that the traditional relations of mutually beneficial cooperation and friendship between our two countries will develop in the future for the good of the Soviet and the Moroccan peoples and for the consolidation of international peace and security.

U.S., RSA USE 'BIG STICK POLICY' IN S. AFRICA

LD032109 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Text] The United States propaganda is going on with its attempts to gain (?free) political prestige from the events in the south of Africa, specifically from the partial withdrawal of South African troops from the south of Angola. Here is a commentary by TASS world affairs analyst Sergey Kulik:

In the course of the election campaign now gaining momentum in the United States, the Reagan administration is almost claimed [as heard] to provide a set-up for granting independence to Namibia. This claim is used to justify the White House incumbent's constructive cooperation with the racist regime in Pretoria. What that propaganda keeps silent about is that in recent years South Africa, with U.S. support, actually waged undeclared wars against its neighbors, inflicting losses of $12 billion on Angola and of $3.8 billion on Mozambique. A major contribution to inflicting the (?great) damage to the economies of the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique was made by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] terrorist bands in Angola and by the terrorist National Resistance Movement in Mozambique. These bands are fully in the pay of the United States spy services and of South Africa. Characteristically, the United States and South Africa just about never mention those bands, showing off their utter dissociation from those criminal organizations.

The British weekly ECONOMIST has noted the racists have changed their big stick policy towards their neighbors to a policy of one round of talks to a big stick. South Africa and the United States would like to outline the course of the talks themselves so as to prolong Namibia's occupation and get the nations in the south of Africa tied up in the economic dependence on South Africa, while the UNITA mercenaries and the National Resistance Movement would be using the big stick. According to the Paris weekly AFRIQUE-ASIE, the recent trip to South Africa of the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker was preceded by President Reagan's secret order to the U.S. Department of State instructing it to move proposals to make people believe the United States was making great concessions concerning the implementation of the 435th resolution on Namibia of the United Nation Security Council. Note: Just to make people believe almost simultaneously, the London weekly OBSERVER published a secret memorandum prepared for the Zaire President Mobutu. That document shows that American and South African delegations have held a secret discussion concerning ways to destabilise the Angolan Government. Another thing that did not go unnoticed was that soon after the meeting, Holden Roberto, the leader of the FNLA gangster group that used to terrorise the north of Angola, reappeared in Washington.

And so that is the hidden side of the American peace-making effort and South African goodwill towards Angola and Mozambique. Their strategy basically seeks to destabilise the situation in the independent countries in southern Africa, to force Mozambique to switch its socialist orientation, to impose on Angola a division of power with the UNITA terrorists and to restore the neo-colonialist regime in Zimbabwe. According to the leaders of the frontline states and to the press, Africa is determined to insist that Namibia be liberated as soon as possible and to continue providing assistance to the just struggle of the South African people against racism.

S. AFRICA TALKING WITH NEIGHBORS TO 'GAIN TIME'

PM011655 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 84 First Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Racist Subterfuges"]

[Text] Maputo, 29 Feb -- The so-called"disengagement of troops" in southern Angola widely announced by the Pretoria government is actually nothing but a simulated withdrawal of the occupation forces, S. Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO], has stated. SWAPO, he pointed out in an interview in the newspaper DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE, has evidence that South Africa is continuing to maintain its military contingents in Angola's southern regions.

The aim of this subterfuge is to delay the granting of independence to Namibia, S. Numoma said.

Freetown, 29 Feb -- The Pretoria regime's true aim at the talks with Angola and Mozambique is to gain time and to slow down the liberation process in southern Africa, the Sierra Leone newspaper the DAILY MAIL writes. The South African rulers' treachery is well known to the African countries, the newspaper points out.

DISPATCH ROUNDUP ON 'INTERFERENCE' IN CHAD

PM021412 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 84 First Edition p 5

[TASS roundup dated 1 March: "Interference Intensifying"]

[Text] Imperialist powers are grossly interfering in Chad's internal affairs in an attempt to ensure their hegemonist interests in central Africa.

Paris -- As the monthly AFRICASIA, which is published here in English, reports, Washington ordered Hissein Habre, the head of the present Chadian regime, to wreck the talks on national reconciliation with Goukouni Oueddei, chairman of Chad's Transitional Government of National Unity, which were planned several weeks ago in Addis Ababa on the initiative of the OAU.

A reportage from Ndjamena published in the weekly JEUNE AFRIQUE points out that missions of all kinds of American "aid organizations" are proliferating before our eyes in the Chadian capital -- which, according to the magazine, is "unusual for this country, which France regarded as a traditional zone of its influence." The U.S. ambassador to Chad is displaying great activeness. The United States holds one of the first places in terms of the volume of financial aid being given to the Habre regime through official channels. In the opinion of the French press, by blowing up the Chadian conflict to the scale of an international conflict, Washington is clearly reckoning on seizing dominant positions in that country and in the central African region as a whole.

Tripoli -- France intends to continue maintaining its military presence in Chad. This is evidenced by the visit to Ndjamena of J. Gatel, secretary of state at the French National Defense Ministry, for the purpose of inspecting the French interventionist contingent on Chadian soil, whose strength exceeds 3,000 men, a Libyan radio commentary states. It is Paris' task to keep the unpopular Habre regime in power.

CHAD DEVELOPMENTS, FRENCH PARTICIPATION VIEWED

PM021127 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 84 First Edition p 5

[TASS reports under general headling: "Chad: Battles Continue"]

[Text] Paris, 27 Feb -- According to reports from Chad, battles are continuing there between the National Liberation Army of the National Unity Transition Government [GUNT] and detachments of the pro-American Habre regime, supported by interventionist troops from France and Zaire. AFP reports that subunits of the present Ndjamena regime have suffered considerable losses of manpower and equipment in the last few days during clashes south of the city of Abeche.

As the journal JEUNE AFRIQUE, which is published here, notes, Habre is planning a counterattack in northern Chad, depending on the French contingent's participation in it. Such an adventure, however, the journal warns, "will mean immeasurably higher human and material losses for Paris than all the previous actions by French troops in that African country."

Commenting on the development of the combat situation in Chad, GUNT radio stresses that the successes of the GUNT forces show "the futility of French attempts to stifle the Chadian people's freedom-loving aspirations."

Lagos, 27 Feb -- Nigerian External Affairs Minister (I. Gambari) has advocated the cessation of outside interference in Chad's internal affairs and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from there. Speaking to journalists here, he declared that Nigeria considers the solution of this problem to be a matter for Africa itself.

SOVIET ECONOMIC DELEGATION ARRIVES IN ETHIOPIA

PM021042 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 84 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Z. Kadymbekov dispatch: "Soviet Delegation's Visit"]

[Text] Addis Ababa -- A Soviet trade and economic delegation, headed by V. Lakhtin, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, arrived in the Ethiopian capital 29 February on a working visit.

The delegation comprised S. Sarukhanov, deputy minister of trade, A. Adomaytis, deputy minister of light industry, A. Belichenko, deputy minister of the food industry, and representatives of Gosplan, GKS [expansion unknown, possible misprint for GKES -- State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations], and the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

The aim of the visit, as the Soviet delegation's leader stated at the airport, is to deepen and expand trade and economic ties between the two friendly countries. The delegation will familiarize itself with the various sectors of agricultural production and visit installations of the processing and light industry so as to map out prospects for further cooperation.

SOVIET AID TO COOPERATION WITH ETHIOPIA

PM021024 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 28 February 1984 in its Morning Edition carries on page 5 a 1,000-word dispatch from Addis Ababa by correspondent Z. Kadymbekov entitled "The World of Friendship" and devoted to Soviet aid to Ethiopia.

The author extols the work of 30 Soviet doctors at Asmara's (Mekanil Khivot) Hospital and notes the high esteem in which they are held. He states: "Cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia is broadening with every year and becoming ever more multifaceted. There is probably no problem in the country's economic and social life in whose solution Soviet specialists -- geologists, oil workers, builders, power industry and land reclamation workers, teachers, and representatives of the most varied trades -- are not taking part today." He mentions a number of important projects in the country -- oil prospecting in the Ogaden, the construction of a hydroelectric power station at (Melko-Bakan), a tractor assembly plant at (Nazret), and the reclamation of tens of thousands of hectares of land at Gambela -- noting that "all these projects are being implemented with the direct participation of Soviet specialists."

MOZAMBIQUE MINISTER'S TALKS IN MOSCOW NOTED

PM020937 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 84 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A Mozambique delegation headed by A. Branco, Mozambique's industry and energy minister, was in Moscow 17 - 23 February. The Mozambique delegation discussed questions of the state of and prospects for further developing trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Mozambique in talks with the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, and the Foreign Trade Ministry.

The Mozambique minister was received by USSR Ministers V.M. Kamentsev and P.S. Neporozhniy; A.I. Kachanov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; and G.K. Zhuravlev, first deputy foreign trade minister. Patricio, Mozambique ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the talks.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON USSR-GUINEAN TU TALKS

PM050900 [Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian on 2 March 1984 carries on page 3 a 700-word unattributed "Joint Communique by Delegations of the AUCCTU and the National Confederation of Guinean Working People," covering the 26 February - 1 March Moscow visit by the Guinean delegation and its 29 February meeting and talks with AUCCTU Chairman Shalayev. The communique reports that an agreement on the development of friendly ties and cooperation in 1985-1989 was signed.

Guinea Delegation Ends Visit

PM050859 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Mar 84 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Conclusion of Visit"]

[Text] A delegation from the National Confederation of Guinean Working People leadership headed by Mamdou (Sampil), general secretary of the trade union center, has been on a friendly visit to the USSR, at the AUCCTU's invitation, since 26 February. During their stay in Moscow, the Guinean guests thoroughly acquainted themselves with the practical work of the Soviet trade unions.

The Guinean trade union leaders met AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev at the Palace of Labor on 29 February. The talks were attended by AUCCTU Secretary K.Yu. Matskyavichyus and V.Ye. Mozhayev, chief of the AUCCTU International Section.

The delegation of the National Confederation of Guinean Working People leadership departed from home on 1 March.

CHERNENKO ADDRESSES KUYBYSHEVSKIY CONSTITUENTS

Election Meeting at Kremlin

LD021419 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met today with the voters who nominated him a candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

At the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, where the pre-election meeting of voters was held, its participants met the appearance of the party and state leaders with stormy, prolonged applause. Also present were heads of ministries and departments, front-ranking workers, representatives of party, soviet and public organisations of the Soviet capital.

Summary of Meeting

LD022349 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Excerpts] Just a moment ago, at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, an election meeting of Moscow's Kuybyshevskiy Constituents for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Unions was devoted to meeting Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, candidate deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, ended. The participants in the gathering greeted with tumultuous and prolonged applause Comrades Chernenko, Aliyev, Vorotnikov, Gorbachev, Grishin, Gromyko, Romanov, Solomentsev, Tikhonov, Ustinov, Demichev, Dolgikh, Kuznetsov, Ponomarev, Chebrikov, Zimyanin, Kapitonov, Ligachev, and Ryzhkov. In the presidium there were also deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of ministers and agencies, production frontrankers, and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations of Moscow and the Kuybyshevskiy district of the capital.

Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko was given the floor. The participants of the gathering greeted him with an ovation. Comrade Chernenko's speech, to which the participants in the gathering listened with great attention, was frequently interrupted with prolonged applause. It was relayed on all programs of central television, Intervision systems, Orbita, and Vostok space systems and the All-Union Radio. The meeting between the voters and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko was a powerful manifestation of the monolithic unity of the party and the nation, of the triumph of the socialist democracy, of the striving of the Soviet people to implement the directives of the 26th CPSU Congress, and of their resolve to defend world peace.

TASS SUMMARIZES CHERNENKO ELECTION SPEECH

LD021913 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- "The CPSU attaches immense importance to the elections to the Supreme Soviet. For this is, in fact, an account by Soviet power to the working people. This is also a form of the masses' control over the performance of those whom they empowered to govern the socialist state." Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said here today in his address to the electorate who had nominated him candidate deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Konstantin Chernenko noted that the Soviet Union had suffered a great loss with the passing away of Yuriy Andropov, an outstanding party leader and statesman. "He was a leader of the Leninist type. It is under this leadership that the Central Committee launched major positive changes in the country's life."

Konstantin Chernenko stressed that the party was attaching much importance to the economy and analysed the development of the national economy of the USSR during the period since the previous election.

On the whole, this was a fruitful period, the speaker said. The country's productive forces became stronger and substantially renovated. More than a thousand industrial enterprises, fitted out with modern machinery, were made operational. The reconstruction and modernization of the operating plants and factories were conducted on a large scale. The fuel and energy base of the national economy was developed. About 40,000 kilometres of trunk gas pipelines were built -- unprecedented scales and tempo in world practice.

These years saw substantial achievements in many other fields too. A unique nuclear reactor with a capacity of 1.5 million kilowatt, for example, was developed in our country. Powerful atomic ice-breakers, built in our country, opened a new chapter in the exploration of the arctic. Mineral prospecting with the help of ultradeep wells was started. Technical lasers are now extensively used in industry and medicine.

Characterising the development of agriculture, Konstantin Chernenko noted that despite adverse weather conditions in 1983, the grain harvest exceeded 190 million tons. The productivity of livestock-breeding also grew perceptibly.

The speaker said that during the past five years, the complexities of international life compelled us to divert considerable resources to the needs concerned with the consolidation of the country's security. But this did not affect the fulfillment of social programmes. Four-fifths of the national income were directed over the past period to people's well-being. The real incomes of the population increased.

Our Food Programme, as well as the programme of developing the manufacture of consumer goods and services systems, currently being drawn up, are also directed at raising the people's well-being. Much is being done now to expand the production of popular commodities of good quality. The modernization of light and food industry enterprises has been started. In this area, we are actively cooperating with CMEA countries.

Among the party's permanent priorities are such vital problems as construction of housing, child-care centers, expansion of the network of hospitals and polyclinics. Last year, more than two million flats were built -- more than in any of the past five years.

Konstantin Chernenko recalled furthermore that the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee worked out in November 1982 a package of measures which imparted greater dynamism to our economy. We started overcoming the unfavourable trend of the first two years of the five-year-plan period when economic growth rates had slowed down. Of particular value is that labour productivity started growing faster and that quality indicators in many branches of the economy improved.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee drew attention to the need to ensure the swift and continuous modernization of all branches of the national economy on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology.

"This is one of our basic tasks. Without this, progress of the society is simply unthinkable," he stressed.

The party also lays keen emphasis upon the issue of starting a large-scale improvement of economic management and restructuring of the economic mechanism. The main guidelines for this work have been defined. They fully accord with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

Konstantin Chernenko said furthermore that the CPSU attaches much importance to analysing the specific features of the present period and to determining in a sober, entirely non-utopic way the level of the social and economic maturity of the new society we have achieved. Determining it, we work out strictly scientific foundations of the CPSU's policy. A great role is played here by the concept of developed socialism as an historically protracted period, at the beginning of which our country is now. It is in the process of accomplishing the tasks of perfecting developed socialism that gradual advance towards communism is taking place.

Our democracy is essentially a democracy that acts, works. Its extension and the perfection of Soviet statehood in its entirety constitute an important direction of the advance of our society. And the party is the power pack, the motive force of this progress. By its entire life it sets an example of genuinely socialist democratism, of a harmonious combination of inalienable rights and irrevocable duties.

Turning to international affairs, Konstantin Chernenko said that one of the most important and insistent instructions of the Soviet voters was, is and will remain the instruction to safeguard peace like the apple of our eye and to ensure the security of our homeland. I can tell you, the speaker stressed, that the party and the Soviet state have been following unswervingly this instruction, doing so in difficult circumstances.

The past few years have seen a dramatic intensification of the policy of the more aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism, a policy of blatant militarism, claims to world dominance, resistance to progress, and violations of the rights and freedom of the peoples. The world has seen quite a few examples of the practical application of this policy. These include the invasion of Lebanon, the occupation of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, threats to Syria and, finally, the turning of Western Europe into launching site for U.S. nuclear missiles targeted at the USSR and its allies.

All this compels us to attach most serious attention to strengthening the country's defences. The Soviet people want not an arms buildup but the reduction of armaments by both sides. But we must take care to ensure sufficient security for our country, its friends and allies. This is precisely what is being done. And let everyone know that none of those given to armed ventures will catch us unawares and no potential aggressor can hope to avoid devastating retaliation.

At the same time it is precisely the complexity of the situation that compels us to redouble and triple our efforts in pursuing a policy of peace and international cooperation.

One can hardly recall a problem of importance to strengthening peace on which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have not put forward during the past few years concrete and realistic proposals. The initiatives of our countries are winning ever broader support from other states. This has been forcefully confirmed by the latest session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Konstantin Chernenko stressed that imperialist politicians are trying in every way to limit the international influence of socialist countries. They are attempting to impair their cohesion and to erode the foundations of the socialist system wherever they think they can count on success. In these conditions it is particularly important to maintain and strengthen the solidarity of fraternal socialist countries. The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries again unanimously expressed their conviction of this during their recent meeting in Moscow.

The speaker further stressed that the USA uses an economic blockade and military threats against socialist Cuba. But the hopes to scare it and to make it swerve from its chosen road are doomed to failure. This is guaranteed by the unflinching will of the heroic Cuban people rallied around their Communist Party. This is guaranteed by the solidarity displayed with the island of freedom by independent countries in Latin America and by many participants in the Non-Aligned Movement. The Cuban people are resolutely supported by the fraternal socialist countries. As for the USSR, it was, is and will remain on Cuba's side in fair weather and in storm, the Soviet leader stated.

Touching upon relations between the USSR and the PRC, the general secretary said that the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China could, of course, contribute to the growth of the role of socialism in international affairs. "We are consistent proponents of this normalization," Konstantin Chernenko stressed. Political consultations show, however, that there remain differences on a number of questions of principle. In particular, the USSR cannot make any agreements to the prejudice of the interests of third countries. Exchange of opinions continues, however, and the Soviet Union considers it useful. The USSR stands for the level of contacts being raised to the extent acceptable to both sides.

It is also useful that mutually beneficial contacts in the economy, culture, science and other fields are being gradually re-established. This is not to the liking of those who want to benefit by the aggravation of relations between the USSR and China. But it is to the good of both our countries and the improvement of the overall world situation, the speaker said.

The Soviet leader drew attention to the danger of the imperialist policy of the incessant escalation of tension, which has become obvious. The graver threat it poses to human civilization, the stronger mankind's forces of self-preservation grow. Indignation is rising in Western Europe over the actions of those who are sacrificing its security to the imperial ambitions of Washington. Millions of participants in the anti-missile movement are quite vocal in making this known.

Also, far from all the leaders of Western countries and influential political parties approve the adventurism of the U.S. Administration. It worries a considerable segment of the U.S. public itself as well. They are realizing ever clearer there that the intensive militarization and the aggravation of the international situation have not brought nor are going to bring the USA military superiority and political achievements. They only lead everywhere in the world to the escalation of criticism of Washington's belligerent course. People want peace and tranquility rather than war hysteria. "Our conversations with the leaders of many foreign delegations who attended the funeral of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov confirmed that with sufficient forcefulness," Konstantin Chernenko said.

All this inspires the hope, the speaker continued, that developments will eventually be turned around towards peace, the limitation of the arms race and the development of international cooperation.

Detente has struck deep roots. This is evidenced, in particular, by the convocation of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

Of course, it is the bridling of the nuclear arms race that is of key importance to peace and the security of peoples. The Soviet Union's position on that issue is clear. The Soviet Union is against rivalry in building up nuclear arms arsenals. It was and remains a proponent of the prohibition and elimination of all types of those weapons. The Soviet proposals on this score were submitted long ago, both to the United Nations and to the Geneva Disarmament Committee, but discussion on them is being blocked by the United States and its allies.

As for Europe, the Soviet Union still stands for it being free from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones.

The USSR stands for both sides making the first major step in this direction without wasting time. In so doing, the Soviet Union has no intention of strengthening its security at the expense of others but wants equal security for all, Konstantin Chernenko stressed.

Regrettably, he continued, the United States has turned its participation in talks on this subject into a tool of propaganda to camouflage the arms race and cold war policy. The USSR will not participate in this game, the Soviet leader stated that the Americans created obstacles to the talks both on "European" and on strategic nuclear weapons by deploying their missiles in Europe. It is the removal of these obstacles (which would also remove the need for our measures taken in response) that offers the way to working out a mutually acceptable accord.

Konstantin Chernenko noted furthermore that the U.S. Administration has lately begun to make peaceably sounding statements, urging us to enter a "dialogue."

Attention was drawn worldwide to the fact that these statements are in sharp conflict with everything that the present United States Administration has said, and which is the main thing, done and continues doing in its relations with the Soviet Union. "Assurances of its good intentions can be taken seriously only if they are substantiated with real actions, Konstantin Chernenko stressed. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has always been for a search for mutually acceptable practical solutions to concrete questions or the benefit of both countries, for the benefit of peace. There are quite a few such questions and the U.S. Administration has many opportunities to prove its peaceableness by deeds.

Why should not the USA, for example, ratify the treaties with the USSR on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which were signed almost ten years ago, and not to [as received] complete drawing up an agreement on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests? The speaker recalled that the talks on these issues were broken off by the United States. The USA can also make no small contribution to strengthening peace by concluding an agreement on the renunciation of the militarization of outer space. The USSR is known to have proposed it for a long time.

The peaceable assurances by the U.S. Administration would inspire by far more trust had it accepted the proposal on a mutual freeze on American and Soviet nuclear weapons. So many weapons have already been accumulated that this step would not create even the slightest threat to the security of either side. But, at the same time, it would considerably improve the general political atmosphere, and, it must be believed, would facilitate reaching agreement on a reduction of nuclear arsenals.

A very important task is to deliver mankind from the possible use of chemical weapons, the speaker further said. Talks on that have been in progress already for a long time, but now it seems that prerequisites are beginning to ripen for resolving this question. The point at issue is the complete and general prohibition of the use of chemical weapons, their development and production, destruction of all of its stockpiles. We are over [as received] an effective control for the implementation of such an agreement, that control should cover the whole process of destruction of chemical weapons -- from beginning to end, Konstantin Chernenko said.

"It is not ruled out that reaching an agreement on the above-mentioned issues would signal the start of a real drastic change in Soviet-American relations, and in the international situation as a whole. We would wish such a drastic change. Now it is up to Washington to act," The Soviet leader stressed.

The policy of of the powers possessing nuclear weapons is of special significance in our times. The vital interests of the whole of mankind, the responsibility of statesmen to the present and future generations require that relations between these powers should be regulated by certain norms. The USSR's idea of these norms is as follows:

-- To regard the prevention of nuclear weapons the main objective of one's foreign policy. To prevent situations fraught with nuclear conflict. In the event such a danger emerges, urgent consultations should be held to prevent a nuclear conflagration from breaking out.

-- To renounce the propaganda of nuclear war in any of its variations -- either global or limited.

-- To undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

-- To not use nuclear weapons under any circumstances against non-nuclear countries, in whose territory there are no such weapons. To respect the status of a nuclear-free zone already created and to encourage the creation of a new nuclear-free zones in various areas of the world.

-- To prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form: not to hand over these weapons or control over them to anybody; not to deploy them on the territory of the countries, where there are no such weapons; not to spread the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space.

-- To press step by step, on the basis of the principle of equal security for the reduction of nuclear arms, up to their complete liquidation in all their varieties.

The Soviet Union has made these principles the foundation of its policy. "We are ready to reach agreement at any time with the other nuclear powers on the joint recognition of norms of this kind and imparting them a mandatory character. I think that this would meet the fundamental interests not only of the participating countries, but also of the peoples of the whole world," Konstantin Chernenko said in conclusion.

Nuclear 'Norms of Relations'

LD021840 Moscow TASS in Nnglish 1755 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- Addressing today the voters who nominated him a candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko said in particular:

"The policy of the powers possessing nuclear weapons is of special significance in our times. The vital interests of the whole of mankind, the responsibility of statesmen to the present and future generations, require that relations between these powers should be regulated by certain norms. Our idea of these norms is as follows:

-- To regard the prevention of nuclear war as the main objective of one's foreign policy. To prevent situations fraught with nuclear conflict. In the event such a danger emerges, urgent consultations should be held to prevent a nuclear conflagration from breaking out.

-- To renounce the propaganda of nuclear war in any of its variations -- either global or limited.

-- To undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

-- Not to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances against non-nuclear countries, in whose territory there are no such weapons. To respect the status of a nuclear-free zones already created and to encourage the creation of new nuclear-free zones in various areas of the world.

-- To prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form: Not to hand over these weapons or control over them to anybody, not to deploy them on the territory of the countries, where there are no such weapons, not to spread the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space.

-- To press step by step, on the basis of the principle of equal security for the reduction of nuclear arms, up to their complete liquidation in all their varieties.

The Soviet Union has made these principles the foundation of its policy".

On Chemical Weapons

LD021835 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- "A very important task is to deliver mankind from the possible use of chemical weapons. Talks on that have been in progress already for a long time, but now it seems that prerequisites are beginning to ripen for resolving this question...

"It is not ruled out that reaching an agreement on the above-mentioned issues would signal the start of a real drastic change in Soviet-American relations, and in the international situation as a whole. We would wish such a drastic change. Now it is up to Washington to act," it was stated by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko. He addressed here today the voters who nominated him candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

On Dialogue With U.S.

LD021837 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- "The U.S. Administration has lately begun to make peaceably sounding statements, urging us to enter a 'dialogue'".

"Attention was drawn worldwide to the fact that these statements are in sharp conflict with everything what the present United States Administration has said, and, which is the main thing, done and continues doing in its relations with the Soviet Union. Assurances of its good intentions can be taken seriously only if they are substantiated with real actions", it was stated by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko. He addressed here today voters who nominated him candidates for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

TASS CARRIES 'TEXT' OF CHERNENKO SPEECH

LD021524 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 2 Mar 84

["Party and People United" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- Follows the full text of today's speech by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko to voters who nominated him as their candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

"Dear Comrades,

Allow me to extend my sincere thanks to all the speakers here, to all working people of Moscow's Kuibyshev district who nominated me as their candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. I regard their confidence as support for our party's Leninist course, as approval of the activity of its Central Committee, of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. I assure you that I will do my best to justify the high honour of being your deputy.

Quite recently, we suffered a heavy loss -- Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, an outstanding figure of the party and the state, passed away. He was a leader of the Leninist type. He could not stand routine and stereotype, and knew how to overcome inertia and attune people to concerted work in the name of strengthening the motherland's might, in the name of peace on earth. It is under his leadership that the Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee launched major positive changes in the country's life.

The collectively developed guidelines on the key directions of society's development, everything that has been achieved of late constitute a weighty political capital, and we will take care of it, and multiply it.

Comrades,

The election campaign is nearing completion. This year, it was characterised by great activity, businesslike course of voters' meetings. It became vivid evidence of the unshakeable unity of the party and the people. The CPSU attaches immense importance to the elections to the Supreme Soviet. For this is, in fact, an account by Soviet power to the working people. This is also a form of the masses' control over the performance of those whom they empowered to govern the socialist state.

It is in keeping with the party's traditions to conduct an open, honest conversation with the masses. Precisely this approach permeates the CPSU Central Committee's address setting forth the party's election platform.

When addressing voters, my colleagues in the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee spoke in detail about our home and foreign policy, about plans for the future. Allow me as well to set forth some ideas on this matter.

1.

You know well how much attention the party is giving to economic issues. They featured most prominently in the work and decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. They were subject of a realistic analysis at the Central Committee's Plenums in November 1982 and in December last year. The importance of a number of cardinal problems of the country's economic development was stressed at the February Plenum of the Central Committee.

What can be said in this respect about the period following the previous elections to the Supreme Soviet?

On the whole, this was a fruitful period. The country's productive forces became stronger and substantially renovated. More than a thousand industrial enterprises, fitted out with modern machinery, were made operational. The reconstruction and modernization of the operating plants and factories were conducted on a large scale. But, I'll put it bluntly, less was done in this sphere than we would like. The fuel and energy base of the national economy was developed. About 40,000 kilometres of trunk gas pipelines were built -- unprecedented scales and tempo in world practice. We succeeded in transferring a multitude of factories, cities and villages to use of natural gas. The number of people using gas at home grew by 30 million.

These years saw substantial achievements in many other fields too. A unique nuclear reactor with a capacity of 1.5 million kilowatt, for example, was developed in our country. Powerful atomic ice-breakers, built in our country, opened a new chapter in the exploration of the Arctic. Mineral prospecting with the help of ultradeep wells was started. Technical lasers are now extensively used in industry and medicine.

Quite a lot was done to develop agriculture. Power availability per worker in this sphere increased by 30 per cent. Mineral fertilizer deliveries to collective and state farms grew nearly by a third. Combined with the development in the countryside of new forms of organization of labour and economic maagement, this produces tangible results.

Judge for yourselves. We were unlucky with the weather last year as well, but the grain crop exceeded 190 million tonnes. Productivity of live-stock farming noticeably grew too. All this confirms once again that well-organized, persistent work yields fruit even in difficult conditions. The concrete point at issue now is mobilizing people, preparing all machinery and ensuring a smooth organization of field-work. There is no time to waste -- the spring sowing is not far off. It is also necessary to see to the successful completion of the wintering of cattle.

During the past five years, the complexities of international life compelled us to divert considerable resources to the needs connected with the consolidation of the country's security. But we did not even think of curtailing social programmes, since the ultimate goal of all our work is improving the well-being of the Soviet people. And our approach to this task is broad. We want the people not only to be better off materially, but also healthy physically, developed spiritually, active in social life.

Four fifths of the national income were directed over the past period to people's well-being. The real incomes of the population increased. The public consumption funds became richer as well. And this is the source from which money is drawn for eduction, health service, payment of pensions, and upkeep of houses.

Our Food Programme, as well as the programme of developing the manufacture of consumer goods and services system, currently being drawn up, are also directed at raising the people's well-being. Much is being done now to expand the production of popular commodities of good quality. The modernization of light and food industry enterprises has been started. In this area, we are actively cooperating with CMEA countries.

Among the party's permanent priorities are such vital problems as construction of housing, child-care centres, expansion of the network of hospitals and polyclinics. Last year, more than two million flats were built -- more than in any of the past five years. The housing construction target for the current five-year-plan period is very high. But there are gounds for believing that it will be met.

We realize, of course, that the housing problem is far from being resolved, and we will look for ways to improve futher housing conditions. What this implies is not only construction with state money. It appears that the expansion of cooperative and individual construction should be encouraged more vigorously. As to kindergartens and nurseries, we have succeeded in easing the tension here. Much, however, remains to be done.

It is planned to increase in the coming years the salaries of teachers and other workers engaged in public education. Attention will be given in the future as well to war and labour veterans, large families, newly-weds, and to improving living standards of the Soviet people in general.

It is, probably, worthwhile making special mention of the year 1983. As you know, the Plenum of the Central Committee worked out in November 1982 a package of measures which imparted greater dynamism to our economy. We started overcoming the unfavorable trend of the first two years of the five-year-plan period when economic growth rates had slowed down. Of particular value is that labour productivity started growing faster and that quality indicators in many branches of the economy improved.

To take your district, for example, the entire increment in industrial output has been obtained without increasing the workforce. You have actively joined the ongoing campaign for overfulfilling the plan assignment on labour productivity growth and reduction of production costs. Allow me to congratulate with personal labour accomplishments Maria Dmitriyevna Poleschchuk, a weaver, Aleksandr Mikhailovich Gorbunov, a turner, Nina Sergeyevna Izmailova, a glass-blower, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Serov, a fitter, all front-ranking workers of Kuibyshev District.

Of course, comrades, what has been accomplished is only a beginning of great work. There are still many things, and urgent ones, to be done. We can and we want to move forward faster. We can and should be much more vigorous in solving the problems of intensifying economic development. For it is only on this basis that it is possible to meet ever fuller the material and intellectual needs of the people.

In brief, speaking about plans for the future, one should never forget one simple truth: In order to live better, it is necessary to work better. In order to advance successfully in implementing our social programmes, it is necessary to ensure a stable, dynamic growth of the economy and, above all, its efficiency. This was the topic both at the December and the February Plenums of the Central Committee.

We have succeeded so far in improving economic indicators chiefly through reserves lying, so to say, at hand, on the surface. We started enhancing order, organization and discipline. And this immediately produced a noticeable economic effect.

It is necessary to advance further -- towards profound qualitative changes in the national economy.

Our economy still has no few sectors where lagging just leaps to the eye. The available production potential is far from being fully used. The experimental base of mechanical engineering is impermissibly weak. The share of arduous manual and unskilled work in industrial production and construction is being reduced slowly.

It is a must that we ensure a swift and continuous modernization of all branches of the national economy on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology. This is one of our basic tasks. Without this, progress of the society is simply unthinkable.

The party also lays keen emphasis upon the issue of starting a large-scale improvement of economic management and restructuring of the economic mechanism. The main guidelines for this work have been defined. They fully accord with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

We should, no doubt, strengthen centralized management and planning, ensure that they are made more effective and flexible. Things should be arranged in such a way that national-level economic bodies direct all their resources at resolving the questions of really key importance for the country. Some of their present duties can well be handed over to subordinate organizations, either branch or local ones.

We have and will curb any actions that are dictated by narrow departmental or parochial considerations.

But, comrades, no denying it, there are still instances when local initiative is fettered under the pretext of curbing parochialism. That won't do at all. Encouraging economic initiative, creative work at the levels of economic regions, amalgamations and factories is one of the most important tasks precisely as a country-wide character.

This is, I'd say, also the question of further consolidating friendship between the peoples of our country -- one of the basic principles of the party's Leninist policy. It is necessary to ensure a growth of the possibilities of each republic to make an effective contribution to developing the Soviet Union's economy as a single national economic complex. Of course, the interests of the whole people should be place highest. This directly follows from the internationalist nature of our society, from our world outlook.

Forms of management, comrades, should correspond to present-day demands. This will be, undoubtedly, facilitated by the current economic experiments.

Their essence is that more rights be given to enterprises and their responsibility enhanced, while excessive supervision from the centre be removed. Experimental testing will make it possible to turn from the stage of search to confident advance. But, of course, comrades, the search for and introduction of the new should not be limited to enterprises involved in this or another expriment.

It is, for example, obvious for all that it is necessary to give the green light to the universal introduction of cost-accounting principles. Everything that is standing in its way should be removed.

One of our chief concerns is that the socialist principle of distribution according to one's work be put into life always and everywhere. Those who work with complete devotion should by all means have a better pay. Some may say: But we can, even today, punish slackers financially and award bonuses to conscientious werkers. This is so. But, it seems, the penalties still lack strictness, while material incentive lacks proper fairness and, sometimes, I would say, generosity. This question should be thoroughly dealt with, and without delay either.

It is necessary to overcome resolutely and conservatism and sluggishness. In brief, the slogan of the day in the economic sphere should be: From the correct idea, primed with experience -- to bold action!

2.

As you see, comrades, a great deal of work is being done to raise the efficiency of the national economy. This, naturally, is not easy work. And then, at the height of this work, in June last year, the Central Committee gathered for a plenary meeting to examine questions of ideological, political work of the party among the masses. Why? What connection is there with our economic tasks? The relationship is direct, inseparable.

The matter is that today, as never before, successes of party guidance of society depend on the consistent observance of the Leninist principle of the unity of ideological, organizational and economic work. Building socialism and perfecting it means not only construction of mdoern factories and power plants, making our land, our villages and cities more beautiful. This is a necessary, but far from sole concern of Communists. While transforming the living conditions of people, it is also necessary to do everything possible for their ideological and moral elevation. Obviously, the tasks of perfecting developed socialism cannot be resolved without a great deal of work to spiritually develop people and their socialist education.

It is precisely the essence of the June plenum's decisions that all creative forces, contained in the consciousness and ideological conviction of the masses, be put into motion. This is the basis of their labour and social activity.

I have mentioned the need for a drastic restructuring of the economic management system. It is apparent, however, that improvement of this system is in no way limited to eliminating shortcomings in the work of the, so to say, managers by profession. Another thing is no less important: Conditions should be made for enhancing the initiative and creative spirit of the broadest sections of the working masses in their entire fruitfulness and strength.

I have been told that industrial robots have started performing some production operations at several enterprises of your district. There will be more of them with time, of course. But even then, I assure you, the importance of what we call the human factor of economic progress will not be lessened.

By this we mean the importance of knowledge, the interests and mood of people. For work is done by man and renowned through man. This old truth will never be made obsolete by scientific and technological progress.

In production, the Soviet man should always be the full-fledged and responsible master. This aim is served by the Law on Work Collectives which was adopted last year. It is aimed at further developing precisely the managerial initiative of the working people.

The educational force of moral incentives is tremendous in the life of every work collective. In our country work is the basis for the social recognition of man, his social prestige. The people are justly indignant at shirkers, job-switchers and drunkards, who try to use the lofty name of the working man as a cover for their own laziness and slipshodness, and even demand public respect for themselves. One of the main objectives of the educational work is to form and strengthen in society an atmosphere of respectfull attitude to work and, at the same time, of intolerance and contempt to all kinds of idleness, sloppiness and irresponsible attitudes.

I would also like to make special mention of the following. The party and the state, as you know, have stepped up the struggle against such disgraceful phenomena as squandering of state funds, eyewash and abuse of office, embezzlement and bribes. This is not a temporary campaign. This is a line which will be pursued permanently and undeviatingly. There is and there will be no indulgence to anybody in this respect. Nobody should have any illusions about that. Therefore, it takes even higher responsibility and insistence on high standards on the part of executives, permanent attention to those issues of party organizations and work collectives, all Soviet people, effective functioning of the people's control, law, order and justice organs.

Comrades, there is, perhaps, no such corner in our vast country, where the problems and perspectives of the Soviet school were not discussed. The question of its reform has left nobody indifferent. It concerns literally, as they say, both old and young. The nation-wide discussion of the draft reform of the general education and vocational school is graphic example of how issues of general state significance are resolved by the Soviet power, an example of true democracy. You are, certainly, familiar with the guidelines of that reform. I would like to dwell here only on one aspect -- the labour education.

Labour will never be an amusement, a pastime, even under communism it will remain, as Marx put it a devilishly serious matter. Working is difficult, and nothing can be done about that. Yet parents are at times tempted to spare their children of difficulties. But it is only socially useful labour that makes human life meaningful. That is why children should be taught not what is easy, they will themselves cope with that, but what is difficult. One of the most important objectives of education is to instill in the schoolchildren love for work, to include, in full measure, the impact of productive labour into the process of education.

The point, as you understand, is by no means to belittle the significance of general cultural standards, of knowledge, to introduce something like labour conscription. It goes without saying that the reform of the school has nothing to do with the ideas, that are dished by hostile radio voices. The point at issue is different: A man, who has not been educated to work, cannot be a conscious builder of the new world.

We take permanent care to train such young people who will not falter, not bend beneath the weight of historical responsibility for the country's destiny, for the destiny of socialism and peace. Such young people who would be able not only to assimilate the experience of the older generations, but also to enrich it with their own accomplishments.

This is a responsibility of the school and the family, but not only of them. This is a responsibility of the Young Communist League, trade unions and work collectives.

This is a major task of the party. In the final analysis, it is the question of reliably ensuring our socialist homeland's future. We are resolving this task. And doing it successfully.

3.

Comrades, it was back on the eve of the birth of the world's first state of the workers and peasants that Lenin wrote: "Under socialism...the mass of the population will rise to taking an independent part, not only in voting and elections, but also in the everyday administration of the state." And today the key to fresh successes in the work of the bodies of our people's power, above all, of the soviets, lies in the ever-wider drawing in the affairs of the state of conscious, politically mature and creatively thinking citizens. These activists of the soviets, who number tens of millions, should be really active. The possibilities for that have considerably grown in recent years. The role of the soviets of all levels has grown in resolving diverse economic and socio-political tasks.

It is totally justified that the local soviets have begun to coordinate to a greater extent the activities of enterprises of different industries in their territories. And it is a good thing that they enhance control over the production of consumer goods and the development of the services, over environmental protection. Generally speaking, the soviets' functions of control should be enhanced further. There is much room for work here.

It is invaluable for the further extension of the democratic basis of the Soviet state to keep people better informed of the real state of affairs and to enhance publicity in the work of party and government institutions. The mass media have a great role to play here. Their work has been somewhat intensified during the recent period. However, we expect from them more indepth and interesting materials about the life of the country and the world at large, and a bolder approach to outstanding problems.

And, of course, it is always necessary to be sensitive to the proposals and critical remarks of the working people and to be intolerant of any form of the suppression of criticism.

We Communists take pride in the fact that the party as the nucleus of the entire political system has a great influence in the soviets. Moreover, this is ensured not by the numerical superiority of party members in the soviets: As everyone knows, we have more non-party deputies. The party asserts its political influence in society by tireless efforts for the good and happiness of the working people and by the ability to draft and implement a policy meeting the needs of one stage of our development or another.

The party attaches much importanct to analysing the specific feature of the present period and to determining in a sober, entirely non-utopic way the level of the social and economic maturity of the new society we have achieved. Determining it, we work out strictly scientific foundations of the CPSU's policy.

A great role is played here by the concept of developed socialism as an historically protracted period, at the beginning of which our country is now. It is in the process of accomplishing the tasks of perfecting developed socialism that gradual advance towards communism is taking place.

It is difficult to overestimate the fundamental political importance of these conclusions drawn by the party.

They make it possible to have a clearer picture of the development of our society in all its complex, controversial and multifaceted entirely. They help to remove in practice those discrepancies which have sometimes been allowed to occur between words and deeds, between the real possibilities of society and unsubstantiated forecasts. It is with these points in view that the Central Committee is doing today the exceptionally important work of preparing a new edition of the CPSU program.

The party is striving to ensure that Lenin's style in all its diversity and richness becomes a heartfelt need and an irreplaceable working tool of every party, government and economic management official. Our leaders have vast powers and rights; but also bear vast responsibility. There can be nothing worse for a leader than arrogance and conceit, and "using the power crudely," in Lenin's words, "as nothing but power, as though to say: 'I have the power, I have given my orders, and you must obey'." The strength of the leader lies in his ability to blend together his authority of an official and that of a personality.

Party and government cadres win the affection and respect of the mass of people first and foremost in practical public activity, win them with their energy and knowledge, by their personal example and conduct that are free of anything which offends the moral feelings of the people. The leader can be exacting toward others precisely because he is even more exacting towards himself. In this way he gets a moral right in addition to his official right to show firmness when it is better, as the saying goes, "to spare words when authority must be invoked." The basis of the leader's authority is popular approval and support. And those who lose them, who are deaf to the opinion of the mass of people, cannot and must not hold posts of authority.

There is another matter. We have quite a few effective forms of the initiative of the mass of people and their participation in the affairs of society and the state. But there also are artificially invented forms, which should be dropped.

For instance, there is an undue liking in some districts and regions for the establishment of all sorts of headquarters and commissions on any occasion. Sometimes there are so many of them that the organizers themselves cannot sort out who had to do what and who is responsible for what. Some officials chair well nigh a dozen different commissions simultaneously to the prejudice of their immediate official duties. All this only draws away people to attend superfluous meetings, scatters forces but in no way helps business. Sometimes certain officials, instead of taking responsibility for their job, only "take shelter behind commissions," as Lenin aptly remarked.

Our democracy is essentially a democracy that acts, works. Its extension and the perfection of Soviet statehood in its entirety constitute an important direction of the advance of our society. And the party is the power pack, the motive force of this process. By its entire internal life it sets an example of genuinely socialist democratism, of a harmonious combination of inalienable rights and irrevocable duties.

4.

Now let us turn to international affairs. One of the most important and insistent instructions of the Soviet voters was, is and will remain the instruction to safeguard peace like the apple of our eye and to ensure the security of our homeland. I can tell you that the party and the Soviet state have been following unswervingly this instruction, doing so in difficult circumstances.

You know that the past few years have seen a dramatic intensification of the policy of the more aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism, a policy of blatant militarism, claims to world dominance, resistance to progress, and violations of the rights and freedom of the peoples. The world has seen quite a few examples of the practical application of this policy. These include the invasion of Lebanon, the occupation of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, threats to Syria and, finally, the turning of Western Europe into a launching site for U.S. nuclear missiles targeted at the USSR and its allies.

All this compels us to attach most serious attention to strengthening the country's defences. The Soviet people want not an arms buildup but the reduction of armaments by both sides. But we must take care to ensure sufficient security for our country, its friends and allies. This is precisely what is being done. And let everyone know that none of those given to armed ventures will catch us unawares and no potential aggressor can hope to avoid devastating retaliation.

At the same time it is precisely the complexity of the situation that compels us to redouble and triple our efforts in pursuing a policy of peace and international cooperation.

One can hardly recall a problem of importance to strengthening peace on which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have not put forward during the past few years concrete and realistic proposals. The initiatives of our countries are winning ever broader support from other states. This has been forcefully confirmed by the latest session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Imperialist politicians are trying in every way to limit the international influence of socialist countries. They are attempting to impair their cohesion and to erode the foundations of the socialist system wherever they think they can count on success. In these conditions it is particularly important to maintain and strengthen the solidarity of fraternal socialist countries. The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries again unanimously expressed their conviction of this during their recent meeting in Moscow.

The USA uses an economic blockade and military threats against socialist Cuba. But the hopes to scare it and to make it swerve from its chosen road are doomed to failure. This is guaranteed by the unflinching will of the heroic Cuban people rallied around their Communist Party. This is guaranteed by the solidarity displayed with the island of freedom by independent countries in Latin America and by many participants in the Non-aligned Movement. The Cuban people are resolutely supported by the fraternal socialist countries. As for the USSR, it was, is and will remain on Cuba's side in fair weather and in storm.

The normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China could, of course, contribute to the growth of the role of socialism in international affairs. We are consistent proponents of this normalization. Political consultations show, however, that there remain differences on a number of questions of principle. In particular, we cannot make any agreements to the prejudice of the interests of third countries. Exchange of opinions continues, however, and we consider it useful. The Soviet Union stands for the level of contacts being raised to the extent acceptable to both sides.

It is also useful that mutually beneficial contacts in the economy, culture, science and other fields are being gradually re-established. This is not to the liking of those who want to benefit by the aggravation of relations between the USSR and China. But it is to the good of both our countries and the improvement of the overall world situation.

The danger of the imperialists policy of the incessant escalation of tension has become obvious. The graver threat it poses to human civilisation, the stronger mankind's forces of self-preservation grow. Indignation is rising in Western Europe over the actions of those who are sacrificing its security to the imperial ambitions of Washington. Millions of participatns in the anti-missile movement are quite vocal in making this known.

Also, far from all the leaders of Western countries and influential political parties approve the adventurism of the U.S. Admininistration. It worries a considerable segment of the U.S. public itself as well. They are realizing ever clearer there that the intensive militarisation and the aggravation of the international situation have not brought nor are going to bring the USA military superiority and political achievements. They only lead everywhere in the world to the escalation of criticism of Washington's belligerent course. People want peace and tranquility rather than war hysteria. I can say that our conversations with the leaders of many foreign delegations who attended the funeral of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov confirmed that with sufficient forcefulness.

All this inspires the hope that developments will eventually be turned around towards peace, the limitation of the arms race and the development of international cooperation.

Detente has struck deep roots. This is evidenced, in particular, by the convocation of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

Of course, it is the bridling of the nuclear arms race that is of key importance to peace and the security of peoples. The Soviet Union's position on that issue is clear. We are against rivalry in buiding up nuclear arms arsenals. We were and remain proponents of the prohibition and elimination of all types of those weapons. Our proposals on this score were submitted long ago, both to the United Nations and the Geneva disarmament committee, but discussion on them is being blocked by the United States and its allies.

As for Europe, we still stand for it being free from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones.

We stand for both sides making the first major step in this direction without wasting time. In so doing, the Soviet Union has no intention of strengthening its security at the expense of others but wants equal security for all.

Regrettably, the United States has turned its participation in talks on this subject into a tool of propaganda to camouflage the arms race and cold war policy. We will not participate in this game. The Americans created obstacles to the talks both on "European" and on strategic nuclear weapons by deploying their missiles in Europe. It is the removal of these obstacles (which would also remove the need for our measures taken in response) that offers the way to working out a mutually acceptable accord.

The U.S. Administration has lately begun to make peaceably sounding statements, urging us to enter a "dialogue."

Attention was drawn worldwide to the fact that these statements are in sharp conflict with everything what the present United States Administration has said, and, which is the main thing, done and continues doing in its relations with the Soviet Union. Assurances of its good intentions can be taken seriously only if they are substantiated with real actions.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has always been for a search for mutually acceptable practical solutions to concrete questions for the benefit of both countries, for the benefit of peace. There are quite a few such questions. And the U.S. Administration has many opportunities to prove its peaceableness by deeds.

Why should not the USA, for example, ratify the treaties with the USSR on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which were signed almost ten years ago, and not complete drawing up an agreement on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests? I will remind that the talks on these issues were broken off by the United States. The USA can also make a no small contribution to strengthening peace by concluding an agreement on the renunciation of the militarization of outer space. The USSR is known to have proposed it for a long time.

The peaceable reassurances by the U.S. Administration would inspire by far more trust had it accepted the proposal on a mutual freeze on American and Soviet nuclear weapons. So many weapons have already been accumulated that this step would not create even the slightest threat to the security of either side. But, at the same time, it would considerably improve the general political atmosphere, and, it must be believed, would facilitate reaching agreement on a reduction of nuclear arsenals.

A very important task is to deliver mankind from the possible use of chemical weapons. Talks on that have been in progress already for a long time, but now it seems that prerequisites are beginning to ripen for resolving this question. The point at issue is the complete and general prohibition of the use of chemical weapons, their development and production, destruction of all of its stockpiles. We are over [as received] an effective control for the implementation of such an agrement, that control should cover the whole process of destruction of chemical weapons -- from beginning to end.

It is not ruled out that reaching an agreement on the above-mentioned issues would signal the start of a real drastic change in Soviet-American relations, and in the international situation as a whole. We would wish such a drastic change. Now it is up to Washington to act.

The policy of the powers possessing nuclear weapons is of special significance in our times. The vital interests of the whole of mankind, the responsibility of statesmen to the present and future generations require that relations between these powers should be regulated by certain norms. Our idea of these norms is as follows:

-- To regard the prevention of nuclear war as the main objective of one's foreign policy. To prevent situations fraught with nuclear conflict. In the event such a danger emerges, urgent consultations should be held to prevent a nuclear conflagration from breaking out.

-- To renounce the propaganda of nuclear war in any of its variations -- either global or limited.

-- To undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

-- Not to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances against non-nuclear countries, in whose territory there are no such weapons. To respect the status of a nuclear-free zone already created and encourage the creation of a new nuclear-free zone in various areas of the world.

-- To prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form: Not to hand over these weapons or control over them to anybody; not to deploy them on the territory of the countries, where there are no such weapons; not to spread the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space.

-- To press step by step, on the basis of the principle of equal security for the reduction of nuclear arms, up to their complete liquidation in all their varieties.

The Soviet Union has made these principles the foundation of its policy. We are ready to reach agreement at any time with the other nuclear powers on the joint recognition of norms of this kind and imparting them a mandatory character. I think that this would meet the fundamental interests not only of the participating countries, but also of the peoples of the whole world.

Comrades, all we have, all we are proud of -- the freedom and might of the homeland, its high prestige in the international arena, the full-blooded peaceful life of the people -- we all owe to the intensive creative work of the Soviet people. It is this work that is an inexhaustible source of our confidence of the future.

The workers and collective farmers, scientists and engineers, physicians and workers in culture, teachers and servicemen are meeting the elections to the Supreme Soviet with new achievements in their work. May these achievements further multiply. And then our state -- bulwark of lasting peace and security of peoples -- will be even stronger. Then the life of every Soviet family will become even better. Then our country will even be more successfully advanced along the road of building communism."

FURTHER MEDIA COVERAGE OF CHERNENKO SPEECH

PRAVDA Version

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 3 March in its First Edition carries on pages 1 and 2 an unattributed account if K.U. Chernenko's election speech. This has been compared to the TASS English version published on pages R8-19 of this section, revealing the following variations:

Page R 8, paragraph four, line five, reads in PRAVDA: ...his leadership that the party's Central Committee, the...(adding word)

Last paragraph, line one, reads: ...curtailing social programs even in these conditions, since the ultimate...(adding phrase)

Page R 10, paragraph three, last line, reads: ...it will be fulfilled and, maybe, overfulfilled.

We realize, ...(expanding passage)

Paragraph seven, last line, reads: ...of Kuybyshev District.

Today Viktor Vasilyevich Grishin told me that the working people of Moscow have fulfilled and, in fact, somewhat overfulfilled the plan for the first 2 months. This is a great achievement. (applause) Allow me to take the opportunity to convey to all Muscovites our best wishes and a big thank you for their great work! (prolonged applause)

Of course comrades...(supplying additional passage)

Page R 15, paragraph one, line five, reads: ...view that the party's Central Committee is...(supplying word)

Paragraph three, line four, reads: ...anything which offends a person's moral feelings. (applause) The leader can...(rewording)

Paragraph four, last line, reads: ...farms, which should, perhaps, be dropped (ot kotorykh stoit, mozhet byt, otkaztsya)

For instance there...(adding word and supplying vernacular)

Paragraph five, last line, reads: ...commissions, as Lenin once aptly remarked (kak metko zametil v svoye vremya Lenin).

Our... (supplying word and vernacular)

Page R 17, paragraph three, line two reads: ...be turned around in the direction of strengthening peace, the limitation...(rewording)

Paragraph eight, line three, reads: ...war policy. We have not participated and will not participate...(rewording)

PRAVDA applause notations are as follows:

Page R 8, paragraph three, line three: ...of the USSR. (applause)

I regard the...

Same paragraph, last line reads: ...being your deputy. (prolonged applause) quite recently we...

Paragraph five, last line, reads: ...and multiply it. (prolonged applause)

Comrades! The election...

Paragraph seven, line four, reads: ...and the people. (applause) The CPSU attaches...

Page R 9, Last paragraph, line six, reads: ...the Soviet people. (prolonged applause) and our approach...

Page R 10, paragraph five, line four, reads: ...past 5 years. (prolonged applause) The housing construction...

Paragraph four, line five, reads: ...encourages more vigorously. (applause) As to kindergartens...

Paragraph five, last line, reads: ...people in general. (applause) It is probably...

Paragraph seven...(applause) appears after each person's name, and at end of paragraph.

Page R 11, paragraph one, line three, reads: ...to work better. (prolonged applause) In order to...

Paragraph ten, last line, reads: ...our world outlook. (applause) Forms of management...

Page R 12, paragraph three, line four, reads: ...a better pay. (applause) Some may say...

Same paragraph, last line, reads: ...without delay either. (applause)

It is necessary...

Paragraph four, last line, reads: ...to bold actions! (applause)

As you see...

Page R 13, paragraph one, line two, reads: ...mood of the people. (applause) For work is...

Same paragraph, last line, reads: ...and technological progress. (applause)

In production...

Paragraph three, last line, reads: ...and irresponsible attitudes. (prolonged applause)

I would also...

Paragraph four, line seven, reads: ...illusions about that. (applause)

Therefore, it takes...

Paragraph five, line seven, reads: ...of true democracy. (applause) You are, certainly...

Paragraph six, last line, reads: ...process of education. (prolonged applause)

The point, as...

Paragraph eight, last line, reads: ...their own accomplishments. (prolonged applause) This is a...

Page R 14, paragraph two, last line, reads: ...doing it successfully! (prolonged aplause)

Comrades! It was...

Paragraph six, last line, reads: ...suppression of criticism. (applause)

We Communists take...

Paragraph seven, last line, reads: ...development or another. (applause)

The party attaches...

Page R 15, paragraph nine, last line, reads: ...the CPSU Program. (applause)

The party is...

Paragraph two, last line, reads: ...of a personality. (applause)

Party and government...

Paragraph three, line four, reads: ...person's moral feelings. (applause)

The leader can...

Same paragraph, last line, reads: ...posts of authority. (applause)

There is another...

Paragraph five, line five, reads: ...responsible for what (animation in the auditorium -- applause) Some official chair...

Paragraph six, last line, reads: ...and irrevocable duties. (prolonged applause)

Now let us...

Page R 16, paragraph two, last line, reads: ...avoid devastating retaliation. (tumultuous, prolonged applause)

At the same...

Paragraph six, last line, reads: ...and in storm. (prolonged applause)

The normalization of...

Last paragraph, last line reads: ...overall world situation. (applause)
The danger of...

Page R 17, paragraph three, last line, reads: ...of international cooperation. (prolonged applause)

Detente has struck...

Paragraph eight, line three, reads: ...in this game. (applause) The Americans created...

Last paragraph, last line, reads: ...with real actions. (applause)

As far as...

Page R 18, paragraph five, last line, reads: ...Washington to act. (applause)

The policy of...

Page R 19, paragraph two, last line reads: ...all their varieties. (prolonged applause)

The Soviet Union...

Paragraph three, last line, reads: ...the whole world. (applause)

Comrades, we all...

Paragraph four, line three, reads: ...the Soviet people. (applause) It is this...

Last paragraph, last line, reads: ...of building communism. (tumultuous, prolonged applause. All stand. Those present in the auditorium toast the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU and its Politburo and the Soviet people -- creator and fighter for peace. The meeting participants chant: "Glory to the CPSU!", "Hurrah!"

Television Coverage Described

LD021439 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian and Moscow Television Service in Russian are linked at 1356 GMT on 2 March and begin a live relay of the meeting of attended by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with voters at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. The television relay opens with shots of the hall interior, then of the audience as the announcer sets the scene.

At 1401 GMT Chernenko and other leaders appear, and at 1402 GMT Prokofyev, first secretary of Kuybyshevskiy Raykom, opens the meeting. At this point Gromyko, Grishin, Chernenko, Prokofyev, Tikhonov and Ustinov shown from left to right in the front row, Chebrikov, Dolgikh and Demichev are shown from left to right in the second row, and Vorotnikov is visible in the back row of the presidium. After congratulating Chernenko on his election and general secretary and describing the feats of pledges of Kuybyshevskiy Rayon, and the history of Chernenko's nomination, Prokofyev declares the meeting open.

At 1415 GMT Chernenko's agent, Litvinov, a team leader at the Kuybyshev electrical works begins to speak. He gives a biography of Chernenko, noting his service in the Border Guards, his party work and awards.

At 1428 GMT Dyatlova, section chief at the Chemical Reactives Institute, begins to speak. She lauds the country's achievements and the improvement in people's lives, congratulates Chernenko, noting the scientists' approval of his election.

At 1439 GMT Mashin, director of Khromatron Works, speaks offering congratulations, and praising Chernenko's record.

At 1448 GMT schoolteacher Lukasheva speaks, recalling Chernenko's Komsomol days and praising the education reform draft.

The following leaders are identified from the video:

Front row, from left to right: Gorbachev, Gromyko, Grishin, Chernenko, Tikhonov, Ustinov, Romanov, Solomentsev, Aliyev and Vorotnikov

Second row: Kuznetsov, Chebrikov, Dolgikh, Demichev, and Kapitonov. Ryzhkov is also in second row, but his exact position is unclear.

Chernenko stands up unaided, while camera shows applauding audience until he reaches the rostrum. At 1458 GMT Chernenko begins to speak. At the rostrum he stands, resting his hands on the desk, reading his speech quickly, breathing heavily and audibly after every half-dozen or so words. After approximately 5 minutes he dons a pair of glasses, and his speech is so fast that some of the words are mumbled and difficult to understand.

Chernenko, gaining strength in delivery, continues to speak, and at 1523 GMT a man brings a glass of amber liquid to him at the rostrum, removing a similar glass.

Chernenko states: "We hope to turn events back into the path of detente, furthering the cause of peace, and international cooperation." He says that the USSR opposes the buildup of military arsenals, but the United States is blocking its proposals.

As he speaks of the United States having opportunities to show good will if it wishes, Chernenko seems to lose his place. There is a 30-second pause, the audience applauds, and Chernenko resumes speaking. During the silence the camera switches to the audience and returns to him when he begins to speak again.

Chernenko says that it could be possible to reach agreement on chemical weapons. He says the USSR is prepared to respect nuclear-free zones, and that there should be no further proliferation of nuclear weapons, no arms in space, and that nuclear weapons should be reduced and eventually completely liquidated in all their forms on an equitable basis. He adds that the USSR is ready to come to agreements with other states on this basis.

He concludes by saying that all the achievements are owed to the work of the Soviet people and expresses wishes for further advancement. At 1547 GMT Chernenko's 49-minute speech ends to prolonged applause. He is shown at long distance walking back from the rostrum. The audience stands, as do the presidium, including Chernenko, who is the first to sit down.

At 1550 GMT Prokofyev gives a vote of thanks, while the camera shows Chernenko scratching behind his ear and coughing, and Grishin speaking to Chernenko, who acknowledges him with a gesture of the head. As Prokofyev calls on all to vote for Chernenko there is prolonged applause. At 1553 GMT the meeting is declared closed. The presidium, including Chernenko, all stand, and the camera swings from them to the audience. At 1554 GMT the live relay ends.

Vremya Version of Speech

LD022314 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television in Russian in the Vremya newscast at 1800 GMT carries a 50-minute version of Moscow Television's live relay of Chernenko's election address carried at 1355 GMT.

At the point when Chernenko appears to lose his place, as described in the Editorial Report on the live relay, page R 20, in the Vremya version the announcer comes in on the audio and reads the following passage apparently omitted by Chernenko but carried in the 1510 GMT TASS English version, pages R 8-19:

Page R 18, first paragraph, last line, the announcer reads:"... peaceableness by deeds.

"Why should not the U.S. for example, ratify the treaties with the USSR on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which were signed almost 10 years ago, and not to complete drawing up an agreement on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests? I will remind that the talks on these issues were broken off by the United States. The United States can also make a not-small contribution to strengthening peace by concluding an agreement on the renunciation of the militarization of outer space. The USSR is known to have proposed it for a long time.

"The peaceable assurances by the U.S. Administration would inspire by far more trust had it accepted the proposal on a mutual freeze on American and Soviet nuclear weapons. So many weapons have already been accumulated that this step would not create even the slightest threat to the security of either side. But, at the same time, it would considerably improve the general political atmosphere, and, it must be believed, would facilitate reaching agreement on a reduction of nuclear arsenals.

"A very important task is to deliver mankind from the possible use of chemical weapons. Talks on that have been in progress already for a long time, but now it seems that prerequisites are beginning to ripen for resolving this question. The point at issue is the complete and general prohibition of the use of chemical weapons, their development and production, of all of their stockpiles. We are in favor of effective control for the implementation of such an agreement; that control should cover the whole process of destruction of chemical weapons -- from beginning to end.

"It is not ruled out that reaching an agreement on the above-mentioned issues would signal the start of a real drastic change in Soviet-American relations, and in the international situation as a whole. We would wish such a drastic change. Now it is up to Washington to act.

"The policy of the powers possessing nuclear weapons is of special significance in our times. The vital interests of the whole of mankind, the responsibility of statesmen to the present and future generations require that relations between these powers should be regulated by certain norms. Our idea of ..."

The speech continues with the Chernenko recording.

During the announcer-read portion of the speech, as during the 1355 GMT Moscow TV relay, the camera is not on Chernenko at this time but shows scenes from around the hall.

TASS Russian Report

Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1235 GMT on 3 March carried the "text" of the Supreme Soviet election speech delivered on 2 March by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko. This has been compared to the TASS English version published on pages R 8-19 of this section and was found to be identical.

Moscow Television Live Relay

Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1355 GMT on 2 March -- in a joint linkup with Moscow radio -- carries a live relay of K.U. Chernenko's Election Speech. This has been compared with the TASS English "text" published on pages R 8-19 of this section, revealing the following variations:

Page R 8, paragraph three, last line reads:...being your deputy.

Comrades. Quite recently we...(picking up paragraph four, adding word)

Page R 10, paragraph three, last line reads:... will be met and perhaps even overfulfilled.

We realize... (supplying additional passage)

Paragraph six, last line reads:... of Kuybyshev District.

Today Viktor Vasilyevich Grishin reported to me that Moscow has fulfilled, and even somewhat overfulfilled, the plan for the two months. This is a great achievement, of course. Allow me to take the opportunity to convey from this rostrum, and through you to all Muscovites, our best wishes and great gratitude for their great work effort.

Of course conrades... (supplying additional passage)

Page R 18, paragraph one, last line reads:... peaceableness by deeds.

The point at ... (omitting passage and picking up paragraph four, line three)

Paragraph four, line six reads:... stockpiles, we are in favor of an effective control... (rewording)

Paragraph five, lines three and five substitute the word "breakthrough" for "change" [perelom]

Paragraph five, last line reads... Washington to act.

The vital interest (picking up paragraph six, line two, omitting sentence)

Radio Announcer-Read Version

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 2 March carries a 46-minute announcer-read version of the speech by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee given at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 2 March. This version has been compared with Chernenko's speech as carried by Moscow TASS in English as published on pages R8-R19 of this section revealing the following variations:

Page R 9, last paragraph, lines one and two read:...during the last 5-year plan the complexities of...(adding word)

Page R10, paragraph three, last line reads:...will be met, and maybe overfulfilled.

We realize...(supplying additional phrase)

Paragraph seven, last line reads:...of Kuybyshev District.

Today Viktor Vasilyevich Grishin reported to me that the working people of Moscow have fulfilled, and even to a degree overfulfilled, the plan for the 2 months. This is a great achievement. Allow me to take the opportunity to convey from this rostrum to all Muscovites our best wishes and much gratitude for their great work effort.

Of course, comrades...(supplying additional passage)

Page R 13, last paragraph, line two reads:...of socialism and the world.
Such young people...(rewording)

Page R 17, paragraph seven, line three reads:...war policy. We have not participated in such a game and will not participate in such a game. The Americans created...(supplying additional phrases)

Page R 18, paragraph three, line six reads:...stockpiles. We are in favor of an effective control...(rewording)

Paragraph four, line two reads:...a real drastic breakthrough in Soviet-American...(rewording)

Same paragraph, line five reads:...such a drastic breakthrough. Not it is...(rewording)

SUPREME SOVIET ELECTIONS BEGIN MARCH 4

LD040714 Moscow TASS in English 0632 GMT 4 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS -- People are going to the polls in the Soviet Union today to elect deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Soviet parliament is elected on the basis of direct suffrage by secret ballot. All citizens of the USSR who have reached the age of 18 by the polling day have the right to vote irrespective of sex, race, nationality, social or property status.

Fifteen hundred deputies will be elected to the supreme state power body of the USSR -- 750 to each of the two equal chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

Polling began at all the polling stations at six am, local time, and will continue till ten pm.

Moscow Election Turnout

LD041208 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 4 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS -- About 90 percent of all registered voters cast their votes in Moscow by mid-day. This is clear from reports by the electoral commission functioning in the capital for elections to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities -- the two equal chambers for the USSR Supreme Soviet. These data confirm a high activity of the country's voters.

Elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet are being held in the Soviet Union today. Fifteen hundred deputies will be elected to the Soviet parliament.

Chernenko, Tikhonov Vote

LD041908 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Mar 84

[From the Vremya newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Polling Station No 10 in the Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon of Moscow. It is here that Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko is voting.

[Begin video recording] [Unidentified official] Good day, Konstantin Ustinovich.

[Chernenko] Good day. How are things going?

[Official] Sit down please. They are going well.

[Chernenko] They are going well.

How many people have voted in your station?

[Official] About 300 people have already voted in our station.

[Chernenko] Thank you.

[Official] Anna Dmitriyevna ?

[Woman] If you please.

[Official] Thank you.

[Chernenko] We will go and vote.

[Woman] I wish you success.

[Chernenko] Greetings on the holiday.

[Announcer] (Yekaterina Mikhaylovna Kornoukhova), secretary of the polling station's electoral commission, congratulates Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko on the day of the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is now Polling Station No 19 in the Leninskiy Rayon of Moscow for the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is voting here. [end video recording]

Voter Participation Reported

LD041913 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1820 GMT 4 Mar 84

[From the Vremya newscast]

[Text] A routine session of the Central Electoral Commission for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is examining the course of the voting throughout the country, is now taking place in Moscow in the House of the Unions under the chairmanship of Georgiy Mokeyevich Markov.

According to the data received by the Central Electoral Commission by 1200 [0900 GMT], 89.42 percent of the voters had cast their votes and by 1800 [1500 GMT] 99.59 percent of the voters had taken part in the elections.

As far as the state of the voting was concerned at 1800 the following percentages of voters had taken part in the voting:

In the RSFSR --	99.32 percent;
In the Ukrainian SSR --	99.93 percent;
In the Belorussian SSR --	99.82 percent;
In the Uzbek SSR --	99.97 percent;
In the Kazakh SSR --	99.87 percent;
In the Georgian SSR --	99.92 percent;
In the Azerbaijani SSR --	99.99 percent;
In the Lithuanian SSR --	99.87 percent;
In the Moldavian SSR --	99.93 percent;
In the Latvian SSR --	99.67 percent;
In the Kirghiz SSR --	99.97 percent;
In the Tajik SSR --	99.76 percent;
In the Armenian SSR --	99.88 percent;
In the Turkmen SSR --	99.91 percent;
In the Estonian SSR --	99.95 percent.

Throughout the entire territory of the Soviet Union the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet took place in an organized manner and an atmosphere of high political activity by the voters. The elections constitute new, vivid testimony to the inviolable unity between the Communist Party and the Soviet people and to the triumph of socialist democracy.

BACKGROUND ON SUPREME SOVIET ELECTIONS NOTED

LD041505 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 4 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS -- Today Moscow woke up unusually early for a day-off. Since early in the morning people started going to the polling stations decked out with flags, bright posters and streamers -- the Muscovites hurried to perform their civic duty and to take part in the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Twenty three electoral districts have been set up in the Soviet capital for elections to the Soviet of the Union, one of the two equal chambers of the Soviet parliament. But the whole of Moscow constitutes one electoral district for elections to the Soviet of Nationalities. Thus, about six and a half million Muscovites will elect 24 deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet today.

Such an uneven representation of Moscow in the parliament's chambers is simple to explain. The Soviet of the Union represents the population of the USSR as a whole. Deputies of the chamber are elected from districts with an equal number of voters. Each union republic elects an equal number of deputies -- 32 -- to the Soviet of Nationalities, although their population is far from being the same. More than 140 million people live in the Russian Federation, more than 50 million in the Ukraine whereas Armenia has a population of about 3.3 million, and Estonia -- slightly more than 1.5 million.

However, in the Soviet of Nationalities all these republics have the equal number of representatives. Therefore 6.5 million Moscow voters (Moscow is part of the Russian Federation) send one deputy to the chamber whereas in Estonia there will be one deputy per approximately 35,000 voters. However, this is fair, for such representation equalizes in rights all the peoples inhabiting the country in the supreme state power body. No people in the USSR can dictate its will upon another one.

Many of those who went to the polls today recently attended the voters' meetings with the candidates. Such meetings took place in all districts.

Viktor Gorelov, leader of a fitters' team of the plant "Khromotron", and Yuriy Vasyuchov, teacher of the Moscow Mining Institute, were among the first at a polling station today. On March 2 they were among those who met in the Kremlin with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko, candidate from the Kuybyshev District.

"Konstantin Chernenko's pre-election speech reaffirmed the continuity of our party's political course and the invariability of the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet state to further develop our country and to preserve and strengthen peace," Viktor Gorelov told a TASS correspondent at the polling station.

There are many young people among voters at the polling stations. Some of them are taking part in the polling for the first time -- according to the Constitution, all citizens of the country who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote.

According to TASS correspondents' reports from all republics and major cities of the country, polling everywhere in the USSR is proceeding with a large turnout of voters. This has long become a tradition of Soviet society already.

First reports from electoral commissions are expected here within hours. They are to send preliminary data on the turnout of voters at today's elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

SOVIET PUBLIC LAUDS CHERNENKO ELECTION SPEECH

LD031715 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS -- The speech made by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko at the pre-election meeting with the voters of Moscow has aroused an ardent approval among Soviet people. This is what they speak of at meeting in the work collectives, in radio and television speeches, and write in the press.

"A broad panorama of accomplishments and a clear-cut scientifically substantiated construction plan has been unfolded before us," write workers of the Leningrad "Electrosila" amalgamation. "Soviet people see that the party's course towards raising the efficiency of production, towards a rise in the people's well-being, and prevention of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe remains firm."

"At the pre-election meeting, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee spoke of the Soviet voters' most important and imperative mandate: to keep peace as the apple of one's eye and to ensure our country's security", writes Nikolay Ivanov, corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences. "We appreciated his statement that the Communist Party and the Soviet state will continue to follow this mandate unswervingly. We medical specialists, members of the most humane profession, are well aware of what horrible consequences a nuclear war holds out for the world. We approach the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet conscious of the correctness of our cause, and we shall vote for peace and international cooperation".

"The speech made by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the meeting with the voters of Moscow has evoked in us a sense of pride for our great motherland and aspiration to work still better for the good of the country", write workers of the "Enbekshi" state farm of Kazakhstan. "Our farmers and live-stock breeders are fully resolved to implement the indications and recommendations contained in this vivid and profoundly-reasoned speech. The collective of the state farm will do everything to increase the output of grain, sugar beets, live-stock products, and to expedite the implementation of the programme for the social development of the countryside".

"Peace on earth is particularly dear to me as a person whose childhood years were seared by war. Our people paid too great a price for the happiness to live and work under the clear skies", stated Nonna Surzhina, people's artiste of the USSR, soloist of the Dnepropetrovsk opera and ballet theatre. "We have not forgotten anything, and therefore we shall not allow the war thunder again to break out over our motherland. Konstantin Chernenko's speech is yet another convincing illustration of the peaceful aspirations of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. New big initiatives aimed at ensuring lasting peace and security for the peoples of the whole world have been set out in this major political address. We workers in the field of art ardently support these proposals."

PRAVDA EDITORIALIZES ON RAILROAD PROBLEMS

PM021722 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 84 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "A 'Green Light' for Freight"]

[Text] The railroads are a key link in our country's transportation complex. The fulfillment of the plan and socialist pledges by all sectors of the national economy depends to a considerable extent on their precise, steady, and uninterrupted work.

The railroad workers coped successfully with last year's targets. Many millions of metric tons of freight were delivered in addition to what had been planned. A good start has been made in 1984, too. In January some 4.5 million metric tons of all types of national economic products were transported in excess of the planned figure. Nevertheless, the work by railroads has somewhat deteriorated recently.

And so, we cannot be content with what has been achieved. It was noted at the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum that transportation has more reserves and unutilized opportunities than perhaps any other sector, and that they can be brought into action in very brief periods of time.

The reduction of irrational hauls is one such reserve. These hauls inflict great losses to the state. What is needed today is a more accurate and comprehensive planning of countrywide freight shipments. It is necessary to establish more rational economic links and to deliver products with consideration for the lowest possible expenditure on its transportation. The planning and supply organs and the ministries and departments must launch a resolute struggle against crosshauls of identical freight, against circuitous, short-haul, repetitive, and other types of delivery operations which are a burden for the national economy.

Much depends on the railroad workers themselves. Their plan for the current year envisages the dispatch of tens of millions of metric tons more freight than last year. Labor productivity is planned to rise 1.8 percent. These are strenuous targets, but they must be considerably exceeded because the railroad workers will have to carry not only all the planned output, but also the above-plan output which the country's enterprises will produce. The collectives of all 32 railroads have adopted pledges to exceed the planned level of labor productivity by 1 percent and reduce the prime costs of shipments by an additional 0.5 percent. The railroad workers are counting on ensuring the entire growth in freight shipments through greater labor productivity. What are the reserves which will enable them to scale the planned heights?

One of them is to increase the trains' weight. The experience of the best locomotive drivers attests that the average weight of each train can be significantly increased while using the same locomotives and the same length of house track [stantsionnyy put]. Economists have estimated that a 100-metric ton increase in the average weight of each train will make it possible to dispatch 100-120 million additional metric tons of freight.

A no less important reserve is to speed up the turnaroud of freight cars and cut down their nonproductive idling during freight operations while en route. It is necessary to develop route planning using express freight trains which could create conditions for more precise and rhythmic work by the entire transportation system.

The railroad workers must devote special attention to the links [styki] between long-distance railroads, railroad junctions, and stations. The railroad network is a unified organism and if some branch or section is unjustifiably holding up the flow of freight cars, placing local interests above statewide interests, such practices must be extirpated most strictly.

Some railroad leaders attempt to blame disruptions and delays in train traffic on the shortage of locomotives. Meanwhile the use of electric and diesel locomotives is improving only slowly. Freight car stock is also far from optimal. Every day trains are dispatched late from marshalling stations owing to faults in the freight cars. Following the Muscovites' initiatives, the collectives of the country's industrial enterprises have repaired hundreds of thousands of freight cars. Nevertheless, they are still being damaged or broken at stations, on spur tracks, and at sea and river ports. All who use freight cars, and even the railroad workers themselves, must treat the national assets more carefully and thriftily.

The achievements of scientific and technical progress must be introduced more rapidly in order to raise efficiency in all elements of railroad trasportation. This applies primarily to improving the organization and technology of freight hauls on the basis of computer equipment in conjunction with the mathematicoeconomic methods of planning and management.

It is well known that a large-scale economic experiment began in industry last January. Its success will depend largely on the help of its partners, including the transportation workers. To enhance the autonomy of transportation enterprises, and increase their responsibility for the results of economic activity, economic experiments will also be conducted within the system of the Ministry of Railways -- at the Moskva-Sortirovochnaya Depot, the Kurgen section of the South Ural Railroad, and at Inskaya station on the West Siberian Railroad.

The state is channeling large sums into the development of railroad transportation. At present the operational length of our railroads is almost 144,000 km. More than 360 km of new tracks and 700 km of parallel main lines will come in operation in 1984. It is planned to electrify over 1,000 km of track. Track-laying along the entire length of the Baykal-Amur main railroad will be completed. The foremost obligation of railroad workers is to productively and carefully utilize the locomotives, freight cars, and other equipment.

The local party and soviet organs and the party organizations at railroad departments and transportation enterprises are called upon to orient the railroad workers toward the unconditional fulfillment and overfulfillment of targets, counterplans, and socialist pledges. With the active participation of trade union and Komsomol organizations, the economic leaders and specialists must, for this purpose, launch even more widely the competition for speeding up freight hauls to bring them fully in line with the plans for product deliveries over the whole products list. The Communists are called upon to head this competition.

The precise functioning of transportation is a necessary condition for the successful development of the national economy and the fulfillment of the 5-year plan's 4th year targets by each labor collective.

FACTORS CURBING SPREAD OF TEAM CONTRACT OUTLINED

PM050933 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 March 1984 First Edition front-pages a 1,600-word "Specialist Opinion" by Georgiy Kulagin entitled "Contract Mentality" and datelined Leningrad. The author says that "in modern conditions the team is not only a school for professional skills but is a very important instrument for the individual's social and moral education," but that to perform this role it must "become the basic primary link in every production collective."

Kulagin reports on a recent sociological survey carried out in 80 Leningrad enterprises, which showed that the labor productivity of team working according to a single job schedule and paid by end results is 3-4 percent higher than that of people working individually and considerably higher in certain associations. He says, however, that only 60 percent of Leningrad enterprises are so organized and that this is because the "transition to collective forms of remuneration is very far from simple." He complains that legal and other questions which would allow the team contract to be combined with the Shchekino method -- a combination that represents the "main organizational reserves for increasing production efficiency" -- are "not yet fully resolved." He also points out that that in a number of cases the "overhasty" and "ill-prepared" introduction of teams has not enabled them "to live up to expectations", which has caused some people to remain "skeptical" about the team system, to regard the "call to develop it as just another campaign," and to hope that eventually it will lapse into disuse.

The author praises the team system because it does away with "monotony" by making the worker "master associated operations and even trades," thus "enriching and varying work." The team, he opines, also prevents a worker from feeling he is a mere "cog" by involving him in "production management" and giving him "responsibility for many current, everyday decisions."

The author also points out, however, that the survey showed that many teams initially increased labor productivity considerably, but that the growth "slowed markedly after a whole and sometimes even stopped completely." This pattern occurs, he says, because a team usually achieves "rapid upsurge" by making use of the "superficial possibilities" available -- for example, by reducing absenteeism and personnel turnover and cutting time lost during shift changeovers and the number of defective products. He makes the point, however, that every team has "considerable reserves." These mostly consist in the "more rational distribution of work in accordance with each team member's capabilities and skills, the swiftest possible upgrading of young workers' skills, the mastery of associated operations and specialties, increased mutual aid and assistance, and so forth." These reserves, the author states, are by "the most cautious estimate" capable of increasing output by 20-30 percent. "The reasons why teams do not exploit and sometimes even conceal their reserves are the same as with individual pieceworkers," Kulagin says: Fears that if labor productivity is increased too much the norm will be changed to their disadvantage.

He concludes by saying that the party and government resolution on the team contracts points the way to resolving many problems.

SEMINAR ON IMPROVING ECONOMIC MECHANISM ENDS

PM021553 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Mar 84 p 3

[V. Kapelkin report: "Conference Work Ends"]

[Text] A 2-day all-union scientific-practical conference, whose subject was the improvement of the management of developed socialism's economy, ended its work in Moscow yesterday. Special attention was devoted to the large-scale economic experiments aimed at expanding the rights and economic autonomy [samostoyatelnost] of enterprises. A result of the conference was a set of recommendations for the further improvement of the economic mechanism.